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Bibliographie zur deutsch-jüdischen Familienforschung und zur neueren Regional- und Lokalgeschichte der Juden **(Bibliography on German-Jewish family research and on recent regional and local history of the Jews)**

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For an explanation of the cover photo, please see the article "German-Jewish Refugees in the American Armed Forces," p.15

MAKING SENSE OF THE PRUSSIAN NAME ADOPTION LISTS OF 1812

—CLAUS W. HIRSCH

The adoption of surnames was mandated at different times in different areas of what was later to become a unified Germany. Residents of what was then the Prussian kingdom were ordered by the Edict of 11th March 1812 to formally adopt family names. Many had already done so previously, forsaking the patronymics that had been common in earlier periods.

The process of name adoptions gained validity as the lists were published in the Amts-Blatt der Königlichen Kurmärkischen Regierung, the official government newspaper. The lists were published in Potsdam in 1814 and are available in a number of institutions, including the Leo Baeck Institute (File MF 447 in the Jacob Jacobson collection; reels 16-18 and 36 under "Westpreussen") and at the New York Public Library (stored off-site). Some subsequent changes and additions were announced in ensuing years.

I became interested in the lists when Roger Lustig announced his intention of making the lists available on the Internet and I volunteered to proofread his prodigious work of data entry for the digitization process. [Eventually this data will be accessible on the GERSIG (German Special Interest Group) Web site under the category "NALDEX" (Name Adoptions List Index)] My first reaction to the lists was a sense of bewilderment at the seeming random nature of name adoptions. After reviewing hundreds of entries, however, a pattern seemed to emerge. Based on my observations, the name changes appeared to fall into six distinct categories: (1) reversal of the first and last names, (2) extensions of the surname, (3) complete changes in both first and last names, (4) addition of one name, (5) subtraction of one name, and (6) Germanizing one or more names. Examples of each are cited in the table below, which covers only entries for Berlin rather than the entire Prussian state.

Why did some choose to adopt name changes while others did not? Why did those who adopted changes choose the new appellations they did? I can only speculate on the answers, but I think it is fair to assume that some opted for new names to differentiate themselves from others (perhaps people they did not admire) with like names. One can also surmise that the desire to assimilate caused others to adopt "more Prussian/German" names

while yet others probably chose to adopt the surname of a respected fellow townsman.

It should be noted that many Prussians of the Jewish faith elected not to change their existing names. While I did not make an exact count, it would appear that well over half kept their existing names. Of course this observation applies to a point in time, just as a corporate balance sheet marks the financial condition of a company on one day of the year. Genealogists are well aware, of course, that the descendents of these 19th century individuals often adopted entirely new names when they emigrated to the United States or other countries in the Diaspora.

Aside from the useful information derived by reviewing the name changes, researchers also will be exposed to some colorful occupations when they scan these lists. My particular favorites are Bartzwicker (beard trimmer) and Hüneraugen Operateur (corn remover). Other occupations noted in these lists include Branntweinbrenner (brandy distiller), Garnhändler (yarn dealer), Informator (private tutor), Kattundrucker (cotton print maker), Kupferstecher (etcher), Parasolfabrikant (umbrella manufacturer), Pfandleiher (pawn broker), Tagelöhner (day laborer), Wechsler (money changer) and Zigaro Vertreter (cigar manufacturers' representative).

REPRESENTATIVE CHANGES IN THE 1812 NAME ADOPTIONS LIST FOR BERLIN

OLD ORDER	NEW ORDER
REVERSAL OF FIRST AND LAST NAMES	
Heimann Itzig	Itzig Heimann
Lazarus Zacharias	Zacharias Lazarus
Lazarus Moses	Moses Lazarus
Mendel Aron	Aron Mendel
Nathan David	David Nathan
Phillip Salomon	Salomon Phillip
Pincus Meyer	Meyer Pincus
EXTENSION OF SURNAME	
Samuel Hirsch	Samuel Hirschbach
Wolff Hirsch	Wolff Hirschberg
Samuel Hirsch	Samuel Hirschfeld
Marcus Jacob	Marcus Jacoby
Joachim H. Scheur	Joachim H. Scheurmann
COMPLETE CHANGE IN NAMES	
Salomon Itzig	Siegfried Imberg
Baruch Jüdel	Barthold Julius
Marcus Isaac	Martin Isert
Israel Jacob Israel	Judor Jahnsen
Liepmann Alexander	Leopold Leander
Moses Levin Isaac	Moritz Leo
Moses Meyer	Moritz Mannthal
Marcus Friedländer	Henry Melford
Moses S. Loebel	Moritz Samone

ADDITION OF ONE NAME

Herschel Jonas	Heinrich Herschel Jonas
Joseph David	Joseph David Minden
Meyer Moses	Meyer Moses Meyerhoff
Levin Joachim	Levin Joachim Neumeeden
Jacob Joachim	Jacob Joachim Praeger
Salomon Nathan	Salomon Nathan Rosenhain
Baer David	Baer David Rosenberg
Raphael Marcus	Raphael Marcus Schröder
Hirsch Lebel	Hirsch Lebel Schlesing

SUBTRACTION OF ONE NAME

Aron Abraham Beer	Abraham Beer
Tobias Michael Bock	Tobias Bock
Moses Heimann Ephraim Veitel	Moses Heimann Ephraim
Baruch Simon Zelle	Baruch Simon
Wolff Benjamin Joseph	Benjamin Wolff
Isaac Wulff Israel	Isaac Wulff

GERMANIZING ONE OR MORE NAMES

Joseph Hirsch	Joseph Hillmar
Abraham Jacoby	Johann August Jacoby
Jonas Moses	Jonas Keifer
Itzig Abraham Königsberger	Johann Adolf König
Louis Wolff	Louis Wolff Kuhno
Wulff M. Friedländer	Wulff Marcus Koth
Moses Levin Isaac	Moritz Leo
Nathan I. Liepmann	Ferdinand Limann
Aron Lazarus	Anton Lorenz
Salomon M. Cohn	Salomon M. Schlottheim
Moses J. Schlesinger	Martin Johann Schlesinger

Once these name adoption lists become more readily available via the Internet, the game of tracing one's ancestry will achieve yet another boost. One can only hope that the process will inspire other researchers to do the hard work required to expand such lists and help to unravel the mystery that now surrounds the business of tracing one's roots.

A SEARCH AROUND THE GLOBE LEADS US BACK HOME

—FREDDY SAPIR

I am a very curious person but never considered myself a genealogist. After qualifying as a librarian in 1976 (at the Library School of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem) I continued browsing among new books.

In the 1990s, when browsing among various books in the reference room of the National and University Library at the Hebrew University, Giv'at Ram, Jerusalem, I came across a recent acquisition, a book in German. The "new" book was called *Biographisches Handbuch Würzburger Juden 1900-1945* (Biographical Handbook of the Jews in Wuerzburg 1900-1945) by Reiner Straetz, published in Wuerzburg, 1989. The book gives details, in alphabetical order of family names, of Jews who had lived in Wuerzburg. Under the letter S, I found my great-grandmother (my father's grandmother), Jeanette Scharlach. Little did I know then that this would be the beginning of a search across the globe for more family.

In the same passage of that book, I discovered my grandmother Selma (my father's mother, daughter of Jeanette), who married my grandfather Max Speier. I also found my father's uncle Leo Scharlach (whose tallit bag, a prayer shawl case, my father "inherited", as his uncle fell as a German soldier during World War I).

Stirring up old family names and memories, I remembered that my father Stefan Speier, who died in 1975, had told me that his grandmother's original name was Kissinger and that we were somehow related to Henry Kissinger, (whose uncle Arno Kissinger lived in Stockholm, Sweden and used to go to the small synagogue Jeschurun in the center of Stockholm.) My father, however, did not know how we were related to Henry Kissinger. Straetz's book told me that Jeanette Scharlach's father was Nathan Kissinger. Here was the name but I still didn't know the connection.

Selma Scharlach Speier

At my wife's urging, I wrote a letter to the municipality of Würzburg, asking how Nathan Kissinger (my great-grandmother's father) was related

to Henry Kissinger. Dr. Hans-Peter Baum who works at the City Archive of Würzburg replied that although they could not give me an answer, they had passed my letter on to Michael Schneeberger who works as a genealogist at the Jewish Community of Würzburg and who was familiar with the Kissinger family genealogy, and he would be able to explain the relationship.

However, before I heard from him, Elizabeth Levy from Mevasseret Zion (near Jerusalem) phoned me in Netanya. Mr. Schneeberger had passed my request on to her. This was the first time I heard of her. She explained that she was in regular contact with Michael Schneeberger and had heard about my interest in the Kissinger family, as it was her family too, and she had been researching the Kissinger family for many years. She excitedly explained how Henry Kissinger was related to my father and told me that in addition to hundreds of very distant cousins, I have a second cousin Janet Fleckman (nee Stern) in Texas. Janet's grandmother was a sister of my grandmother, and we had the same great-grandmother Jeanette Kissinger Scharlach. Janet's father Albert Stern was therefore my father's first cousin. Elizabeth Levy also sent me a long list of Kissinger relatives and family pictures. My discovery of lost family brought great excitement to me and my wife and we enthusiastically searched for further contacts.

Michael Schneeberger from Würzburg later sent me family trees of the Scharlach family from Bibergau, the Lauber family from Bullenheim, and the Stern family from Hessdorf, all of whom were connected to my branch of the Kissinger family by marriage.

In the Lauber family tree information, it said that Mathilde (nee Lauber) and Nathan Kissinger had two daughters Jeanette and Babette. Jeanette, age 27, married Hirsch Scharlach, age 38, from Bibergau in 1882 and Babette, age 29, married Loeb Baumann, age 34, from Adelsberg in 1886. We wrote to the archivist in Adelsberg to find out more about these relatives. Perhaps there were yet more cousins out there.

Senta Scharlach Stern with husband Adolf and three children, Albert, Mela and Lothar.

The information that arrived led us to a third daughter, Karoline, who lived in Marktbreit but did not marry, and died in Wuerzburg in 1942, where she is buried in the Jewish cemetery.

Furthermore, we discovered that Babette Kissinger and Loeb Baumann lived in Adelsberg (near Gemünden am Main) and had two sons, Hermann (Heinrich) and Gustav. In search of more about these sons, Michael Hasenstab, the registration clerk in Gemünden am Main, sent me information about the Baumann family and a number of birth registration documents, including those of both sons.

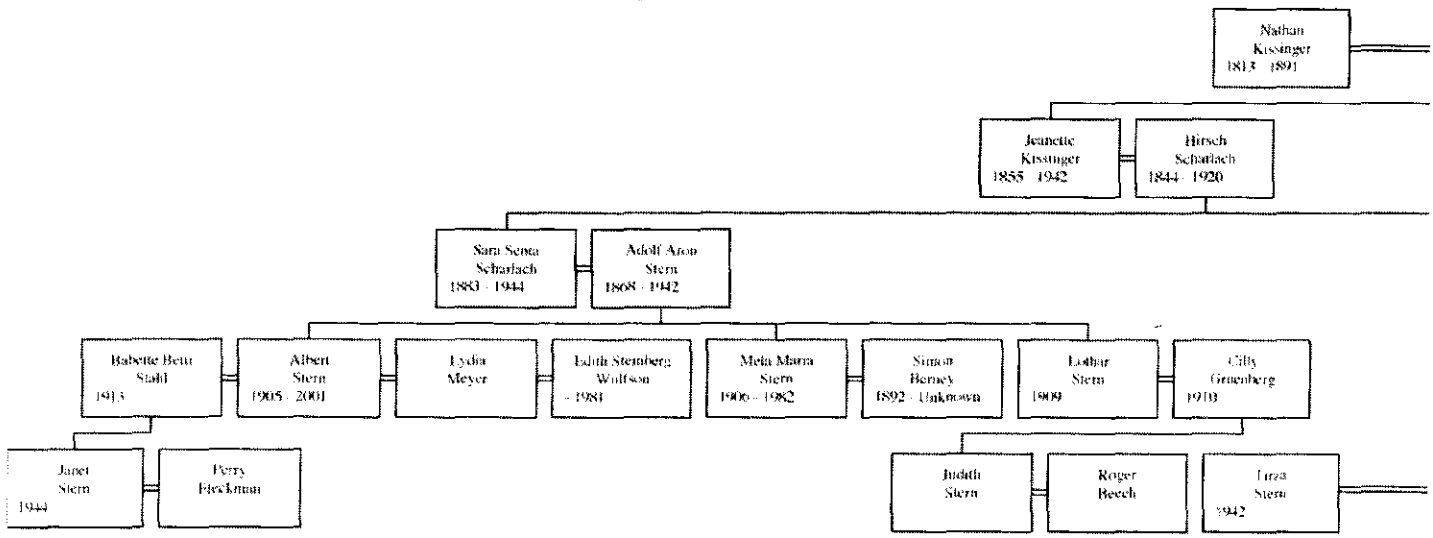
Further correspondence with Gemünden produced the information that Hermann had married Jenny Borg, age 23, from Pflaumheim and they had one child, a daughter Bertha. On November 24th 1938, shortly after Kristallnacht, the three of them moved from Adelsberg to Nuremberg. We followed their footsteps by contacting the archives in Nuremberg

Hermann Baumann and Jenny Borg

to discover that the family deregistered on October 17th1941 from Nuremberg in order to go to Ecuador. Now we knew that they had survived the Holocaust, but we had to begin a new search in South America.

For month after month, I tried to trace the Baumann family after they left Nuremberg in 1941 for Ecuador, but without success. I told Elizabeth Levy about my lack of progress and she posted a notice in Gersig – the Jewishgen German genealogy Interest Group Internet forum, asking for information about how to find more about the Jews of Ecuador. After some fascinating answers about the Jews of Ecuador, none of which led to our family, we knew we had to take a different angle. If the Baumann name did not lead us anywhere, perhaps there was someone from the Borg family, Hermann's wife's family, who stayed in touch with them. Another posting on Gersig and a little patience gave us a reply from Raymond Woolf, an American living in Germany. "Bingo, you win! We ARE talking about the same Jenny Borg." It turned out that his great grandfather was Jenny's uncle. He provided more recent information about the Baumann family who had since emigrated to the USA. The daughter, Bertha had married and lived in New Jersey but he did not know her married name. We did not give up hope, although we were not sure how we were going to find a Bertha in New Jersey. His later correspondence mentioned that apparently Hermann Baumann had died in Ecuador and Jenny had remarried a man named Wolfzahn, who had children from a previous marriage. An Internet search led him to Herbert Wolfzahn, Bertha's step brother. He had lost touch with Bertha ten years earlier but at least was able to provide her married name. Fortunately, it was not Cohen.

Descendants of Nathan Kissinger



A query on Intelius uncovered a Betty and Siegfried Ansbacher living in Northern New Jersey, but, as Murphy would have it, their address and telephone were unlisted. Was Bertha now Betty? Sounds quite possible. Additional information on the site revealed the name and address of their synagogue.

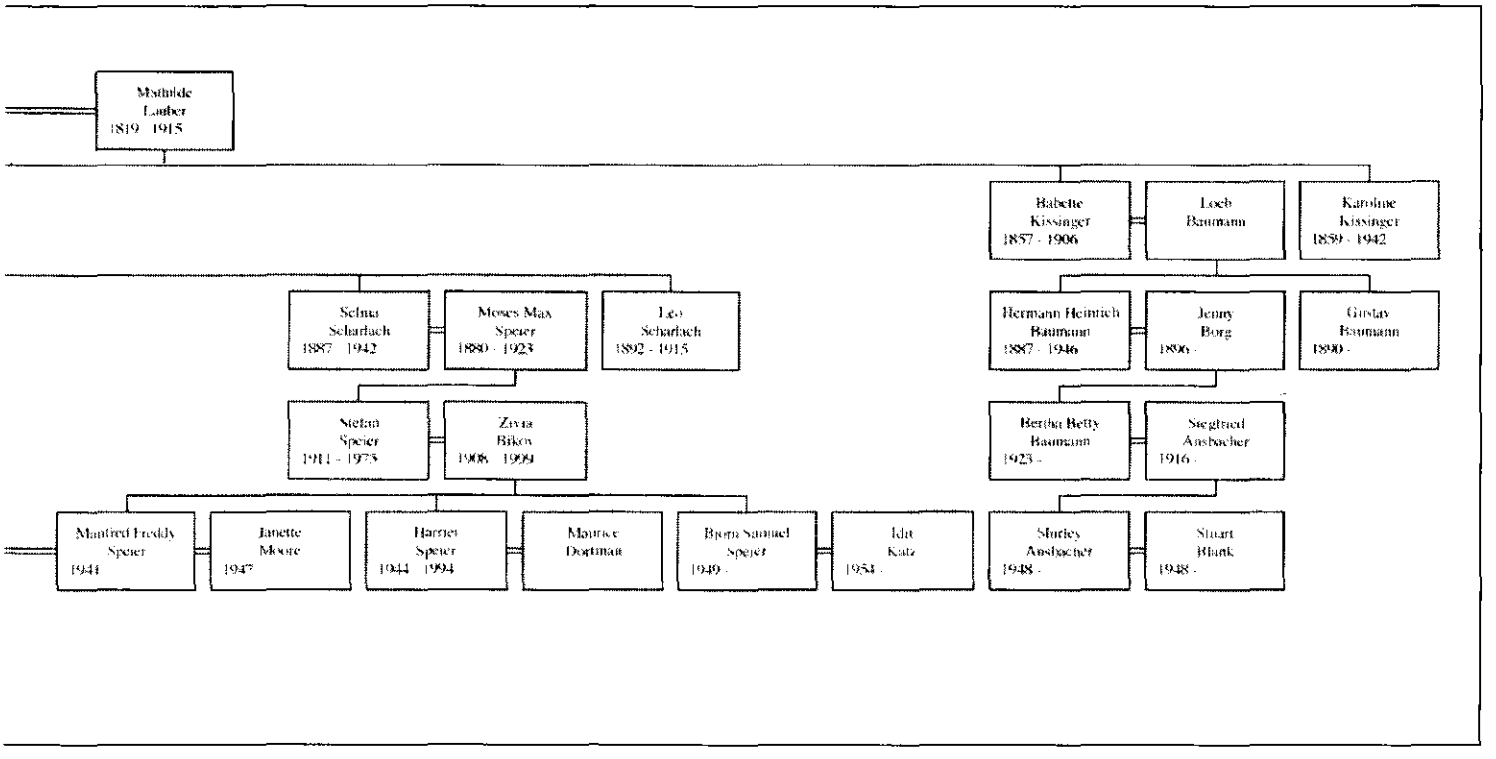
Elizabeth called the synagogue, explaining the situation and asked for their address. "Yes, they were members but unfortunately they moved away a few months ago." Elizabeth persuaded them to give out the name of the city to which they had moved but would not (understandably) provide their new address. Returning to Intelius only led us to another unlisted listing.

Elizabeth returned to the synagogue with a new request. If we were to write a letter to Betty, would they mind forwarding it to the new address? The secretary gladly agreed after explaining that she knows what we are going through as her uncle is also working on their family tree.

The letter telling Betty of our search for her was sent to the synagogue and all we had to do was wait.

A couple of weeks later, Elizabeth received an email from Betty's daughter: "We just received your letter and our minds are blown! I am Shirl, daughter of Betty Baumann Ansbacher and Siegfried Ansbacher. I don't even know what to say. I have scanned the letter into my laptop because I want to save it for posterity. I have forwarded it to my cousin Amelie, niece of Jenny Borg and to my husband and children who coincidentally will be in Israel next week. My son lives in Tel Aviv! Wonderful to have family!"

And that is how we searched the globe to finally make contact with the descendants of my great-grandmother's sister, right here at home, right where we started.



GERMAN-JEWISH REFUGEES IN THE AMERICAN ARMED FORCES DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR

—JOSHUA FRANKLIN

A more indepth study of this subject by Joshua Franklin can be found at:

http://www.clarku.edu/activelearning/departments/history/dwork/franklinInt.cfm

Between 1933 and 1943, approximately 90,000 German-Jews fled Nazi Germany and immigrated to the United States. Hitler had wanted to create an "Aryan" Germany, a Germany without Jews. Little did Hitler know that German-Jews whom he had victimized and who had fled Nazi Germany, would return in American uniform to help to defeat the German army. Some 9,500 German-Jewish refugees served in the American armed forces during World War II, the majority of whom were sent to the European theater of operations.[1] Typical American soldiers fought for their country; German-Jewish refugees fought for the United States and for personal reasons. Unlike most victims of Nazi persecution, German-Jewish refugees as American soldiers had a means for revenge. German-Jewish refugees were not only enthusiastic about fighting, but their native knowledge about the enemy was unsurpassed; they knew the German language, the psychology, and geography better than any other group of American soldiers. As both German-Jewish victims and American soldiers, German-Jewish refugees were unique among those who served. They were Americanized by their military service, yet at the same time, they confronted and came to terms with their victimhood during their return to Germany.

MOTIVATIONS FOR MILITARY SERVICE

German-Jewish refugees were eager to fight a war against the country that had forced them to flee. For German refugee soldiers, there was no conflict of interest in fighting their "fatherland;" on the contrary, many desired vengeance against Germany. Even a German-Jewish refugee pacifist like Si Lewen, who immigrated to the United States in 1935, was eager to exact revenge. "I despise all wars, but this was different. I came out of Germany and ran away the moment Hitler came in; but I knew that I had to get back and do what I could . . . . I knew I had to fight fascism."[2] German-Jewish refugees had a personal vendetta to wage. The desire to serve

in the American military was of course not unique to German-Jewish refugees, but their fight was personal. It is therefore not surprising that a survey conducted in early 1945 by the Jewish Welfare Board in cooperation with the National Refuge Service, has suggested that German-Jewish participation was slightly higher than the overall American population. Out of a group surveyed, 10 percent of Jewish refugees entered the American military compared to 8.9 percent of the total American population.[3]

Germany, the country of their birth, had betrayed German-Jewish refugees. As members of the American military, they were able to return as victim soldiers to fight the forces that had caused them to emigrate. As an anonymous German-Jewish refugee soldier quoted in *Aufbau*, the German-Jewish immigrant newspaper, explained, "I, who have been robbed of all I possessed and driven out of my homeland, have so much more reason for wanting to get a whack at Hitler than has the average American citizen who has not yet suffered from him."[4] Like other servicemen, German-Jewish GIs served in all areas of the military and not necessarily in the European theater.[5] But for them, service in the American military—whether on the home front, in the Pacific, or in Europe—was ultimately geared toward defeating Nazi Germany.

Although German-Jewish refugees were motivated by revenge, they, like other American soldiers, also desired to serve their country. In many cases, German-Jewish refugees felt an even greater responsibility to serve in the American military. German-Jewish refugees had both the aspiration to prove their new American loyalty and, also as victims of Nazi oppression, the heightened consciousness to defend America's democratic values.

The loyalty of German-Jewish refugees was questioned both by American society and also by the American government. It was not only a right-wing faction of American society that accused German-Jewish refugees of being an American fifth column; the American government also believed that German spies could infiltrate American borders in the guise of German-Jewish refugees. In June 1940, Congress passed the Alien Registration Act, which required all aliens in the United States 14 years of age or older to register and be fingerprinted. Fearing that German espionage was being carried out through German immigrants, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) collected information concerning possible spy suspects. On the night of 7 December 1941 and in the months following, the FBI arrested the most dangerous suspects, and subsequently interned many of them for the duration of the war; a small portion of those arrested were German-Jewish refugees.[6] In order to prove their American loyalty, serving in the American military was a way for German-Jewish refugees to refute any perceptions of them as disloyal.

As victims of Nazi oppression and Hitler's dictatorship, German-Jewish refugees felt a heightened responsibility to defend America's borders, and the democratic ideals upon which the United States was founded. Guy Stern has noted how German-Jewish refugees found it particularly important to defend democratic ideological values. "We [German-Jewish refugees] were committed to this war for personal reasons as well as ideological ones. Freedom was at stake not just in Europe but also worldwide."[7] The American military enabled German-Jewish refugees not only to pursue their personal vendettas against Germany, but also to serve the United States, the democratic country that offered them freedom and a new home.

GERMAN-JEWISH REFUGEE SOLDIERS AS ENEMY ALIENS

When the United States entered World War II, German-Jewish refugees who had not been in the country long enough to become citizens were classified by the American government as "enemy aliens." Since American immigration policy had not distinguished between German-Jewish refugees and German immigrants who were viewed as possible spies, the American government imposed various restrictions upon German-Jewish

refugee enemy aliens. Enemy aliens suffered various limitations, frustrations, and discrimination. Restrictions were imposed on their freedom of movement, their right to live in areas designated as necessary to defense, their ability to be naturalized, and their possession of certain articles including cameras, short-wave radios, and firearms.[8] George Arnstein, who lived in San Francisco at the time, recalled that "we were subject to an 8 pm curfew and we were not allowed to travel more than 5 miles except to go directly to and from work. Thus I missed my high school graduation at 8 pm at the San Francisco Opera House."[9]

Enemy aliens were also prohibited from enlisting in the military. Alfred Erlich, who had immigrated to the United States at the end of 1938, first tried to enlist at the end of 1941. "I couldn't enlist because I was classified as an enemy alien," he remembered. "I had to wait until I was drafted."[10] Even the first drafts of enemy aliens tended to be sporadic and depended upon the attitudes of local draft boards.[11] In addition, the FBI conducted background checks on enemy aliens before they were accepted into the armed forces. Those enemy aliens who were drafted were limited to certain areas of military participation.[12] German-Jewish refugees who had already been naturalized before the war, were in the same category as American citizens.

Of the five million aliens registered in 1940, approximately 1,100,000 were classified as enemy aliens.[13] For the most part, German-Jewish refugees had shown great enthusiasm to become naturalized American citizens; the vast majority had applied for permanent visas into the United States immediately after they arrived. Whether aliens of enemy nationality or American-born citizens, all male residents in the United States within the designated age range were required to register for the draft and were eligible for military service under the Selective Training and Service act of 1940.[14] Enemy aliens, however, were first required to undergo investigation before they could enter military service.

In the first year of the war, the armed forces did not trust enemy aliens with weapons. Thus, with few exceptions, the American military therefore initially assigned drafted enemy aliens to non-combat units. After basic training, German-Jewish refugees were detailed to units like the Medical Corps and the Ordinance Corps. Like many enemy aliens, Victor Brombert was suddenly transferred into the Medical Corps. "The news did not thrill me," he recalled years later. "I felt disappointed and vaguely humiliated. Why was I not to be a fighting soldier? When I joined the group [the Medical Corps], I noticed that quite a few of the trainees were also European refugees—recent arrivals who, like myself, had not yet become U.S. citizens."[15] These restrictions did not apply to those enemy aliens who were drafted or enlisted after the Armed forces changed their restrictive military policies, or to those who were drafted before the United States entered World War II, and were not yet considered enemy aliens. Siegmund Spiegel, for example, had been drafted in 1940 and was sent to Georgia for infantry training. The Army did not transfer him to a non-combat group once the war had started; he remained in the First Infantry Division, became naturalized, and was then shipped overseas to take part in the 8 November 1942 invasion of North Africa.[16]

On 20 March 1942, President Roosevelt issued Executive Order 9106, which "except[ed] certain persons from the classification of 'Alien Enemy' for the purpose of permitting them to apply for naturalization."[17] Thus, many German-Jewish refugees who had been classified as enemy aliens, were again able to apply for citizenship pending a background investigation. The naturalization process took at least five years, and those German-Jewish refugees who were not yet citizens could not enlist in the military. For those who were drafted, Congress issued a provision in the Second War Powers Act of 27 March 1942, providing for the expeditious naturalization of members of the United States armed forces serving at home and abroad.[18] Under this new legislation, German-Jewish refugees who had served honorably in the armed forces for at least three months were eligible for naturalization.

German-Jewish refugees of enemy alien status who had been drafted into the army needed to be naturalized

before they were shipped overseas.[19] Naturalizing non-citizens before they were shipped overseas was an important procedure for psychological reasons as well as practical reasons. For many non-citizens, naturalization was a psychological encouragement that boosted their morale. For enemy aliens of German origin, naturalization was essential; if they were to be captured by the Germans, their lack of American citizenship might mean their death.[20] German-Jewish refugees had been eager to become Americanized. They were quick to acculturate, they were eager to serve for America, and when they had finally obtained citizenship before being shipped overseas, they had become full-fledged American citizens.

Historian Guy Stern (also a German-Jewish refugee soldier) has suggested that the decision to accept enemy aliens as volunteers probably was not taken until around 17 April 1943.[21] Stern has noted that on this date, William J. ("Wild Bill") Donovan addressed a memorandum to the assistant chief of staff, G-1[22] US Army that argued the need "for certain specially qualified personnel from civilian life."[23] Among the revisions he requested, including age limitations, Donovan specifically appealed for a waiver of the current policy on restricted alien enlistment in particular areas of the military. This was, he argued, due to "specialized qualifications involved" and "urgent need." About ten days after Donovan's request, the Adjutant General, on the order of the Secretary of War, agreed, on condition that the enlistee met the physical qualifications and underwent a background investigation. This concession, along with congressional pressure and other requests by the general staff office, ultimately gave way to a complete wavier of restriction on enemy alien enlistment.[24] The change in policy also induced the authorization of non-citizen German-Jewish refugees to serve in combat units. German-Jewish refugees, in short, grew to be fully accepted into the military precisely because of their unique knowledge of the German enemy. Still, German-Jewish refugees continued to be a distinct group within the military. Their special knowledge of the enemy prompted assignments that kept them outside the influence of military integration, and discrimination against them as both Germans and Jews prevented many German-Jewish refugees from becoming typical American soldiers.

German-Jewish refugees who had obtained citizenship prior to the entry of the United States into World War II were never classified as enemy aliens, and were not subject to any of the military and civilian defense restrictions that non-citizens faced. Thus, German-Jewish refugees who were citizens were able to enlist, to become officers, and to join any branch of the United States military. But given the years of substantial influx of German-Jewish refugees, between 1937 and 1941, and considering that before the war, naturalization took at least five years (and on average six to seven years)[25] of residence in the United States, it can be estimated that the vast majority of German-Jewish refugees who were eligible for military service were not yet citizens.[26] Nevertheless, despite the restrictions on non-citizen enlistment until mid-1943, as we have seen, German-Jewish refugee service in the military was higher than that of the overall American population.

RETURNING TO EUROPE

Refugees fortunate enough to find a new home in a different country typically do not plan on returning to the country that had oppressed them. Many German-Jewish refugees who served in the United States military received the opportunity of return that few refugees would ever want. German-Jewish victim soldiers had different reasons for and distinctive sentiments about returning to their native country. As we will see, many German-Jewish refugees wished to find family members they had left behind. Some felt nostalgia about being in Europe again. Many even felt fear. The initial emotions and desires of German-Jewish refugee soldiers changed, however, as they came to find the Jewish population throughout Europe nearly annihilated. What

they came to find in Europe would cause them to embrace their new homeland, the United States, even more warmly.

German-Jewish refugees returned to Germany under new circumstances. No longer were they oppressed under the Nazi regime; rather, they were the liberators of its tyranny. At the time of their emigration from Germany, most German-Jewish refugees were no longer counted as German citizens, but when they came back as soldiers, they were American citizens, and proud of their new loyalty. As Alfred Erlich put it, describing his feelings before the invasion of Europe, "I was extremely ecstatic about being in the army . . . . I was super patriotic."[27] German-Jewish refugee youth had not only swiftly acculturated into American society, but in the process of their Americanization, many had tried to shed their German heritage altogether. Yet, when they returned to Germany in American uniform, German-Jewish refugees couldn't help but realize that Germany had once been their home. Although Germany was the country that had rejected them, they also remembered that they had once felt deeply German. Fritz Weinschenk recalled, "I had grown up like any German teenager; I was patriotic, and totally assimilated. My father served in World War I." It was a nostalgic experience for some German-Jewish refugees to step foot on their native soil in an "enemy" uniform. Decades later, Hans Spear remembered that moment vividly.

> We crossed the Rhine; it was the Jewish holiday of Passover, [which is the celebration of] when the ancient Hebrews were freed from slavery in Egypt. Here I am, born in Germany, I was kicked out. Had I been there another few months I would have been sent to a concentration camp like my brothers and six million others. And here I am as an American soldier on German soil...[It was] very sentimental and very sad that I had to come back and fight against the country, in which my forefathers were born five hundred years before me. [28]

In most cases, German-Jewish refugee soldiers were not able to find family members they had left behind. The Germans and their allies had murdered six million Jews throughout Europe. The vast majority of those German-Jews who had been unable to flee Germany were killed. Walter Spiegel was one of the few fortunate enough to find one of his relatives. In a letter (9 November 1945) to his mother and father, he spoke about their cousin Sylvia Freyholdt.

> Sylvia seems nice; with a depth and culture of her Jewish parentage, and of having lived through trying times. It seems that she fled in order to avoid deportation, and that the Nazis made a good deal of trouble to Burgher Freyholdt [Sylvia's husband] trying to find out where his wife was, to which he did not acquiesce. Sylvia is one of the few Jews in Germany, and the only one of the family it seems. Rosa and Nelly [Sylvia's mother and aunt] are both deceased in the deportation. [29]

Ernest Stoch, a German-Jewish refugee soldier enjoyed a successful reunion as well. When Ernest was inducted into the army on 3 May 1943, he hoped he would be able to find his father, who had been imprisoned in Buchenwald concentration camp in 1938 while he, his mother, and his sister were forced to flee Germany. His father, Leo Stoch, had no idea that his family was even alive. Ernest, a Technical S ergeant in the Army's Criminal Investigation Division in Europe, found his father living in Holland. *The New York Times* reported this reunion in an article (3 June 1945) entitled "US Soldier Finds Father in Holland" 3 June 1945.

The author's grandfather Walter Spiegel in his American army uniform and great-grandfather Julius Spiegel who served for Germany in the First World War.

On Mother's Day a jeep with two American soldiers rolled into Utrecht, Holland . . . . We stopped, and I saw Papa sitting at a ground-floor window looking out into the street and at our jeep. I told him who I was but he still couldn't grasp it, and only when I was inside did he realize it was his son . . . . " [Leo] Stoch said the thoughts of once more being reunited with his loved ones gave him the will to live during his exile. [30]

The miraculous nature of finding lost family members in Nazi-Europe came into perspective as the German-Jewish refugees along with the Allied forces liberated concentration and death camps. Many of the soldiers were returning to the very same concentration camps in which they had been imprisoned before they emigrated. At the time of their incarceration, however, the "Final Solution" was not at that time initiated, and they had not yet witnessed the full horror that they returned to find.

The rage and hatred felt by German-Jewish refugee soldiers was often counterbalanced by the fear of finding the bodies of their missing loved ones. The aftermath of the war bore a heavy emotional impact on German-Jewish refugees. Their former homes were destroyed. Their families and other German-Jews were murdered. Out of this devastation, however, they came to discover a new appreciation for their adopted home, and new identity in the United States. As Walter Spiegel wrote in a letter to his parents (17 December 1945), "You have to have been through the ruins of Europe to appreciate America, and I realize more than ever the value of belonging there, at least I have a lot to look forward to—a wholesome security and a nice way of life."[31]

NOTES

1. Previous less precise estimates hover at 7000. See Arnold Paucker "German Jews in the Resistance 1933-1945: The Facts and the Problems," The German Resistance Memorial Center, 1985, 58. My estimate is based upon data compiled from the following sources: Maurice R. Davie, *Refugees in America: Report of the Committee for the Study of Recent Immigration from Europe* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1947), 35, 38, 44. S.C. Kohs "Jewish War Records of World War II," National Jewish Welfare Board, 1946, United States Citizenship and Immigration Services. "Immigration by region and selected country of last residence: fiscal years 1820-2004," Table 2, http://uscis.gov/graphics/shared/statistics/yearbook/YrBk04Im.htm. The equation is as follows: Total German-Jewish immigration from 1933-1943 (89,300), of whom 43.5% were male, of which 50% were we between ages 18-44, and of this age group, 49% served in the Armed Forces. Thus approximately 9,500 served in the American armed forces. A total of about 550,000 Jews served in the American armed forces, thus German-Jewish refugees were less than two percent of the total.
2. *The Ritchie Boys*, dir. Christian Bauer (2004; Germany, Tangram Productions).
3. *The Bureau of War Records of the National Jewish Welfare Board, American Jews in World War II: The Story of 550,00 Fighters for Freedom* vol. (U.S.: The Dial Press, 1947), 23-24.
4. See: David De Sola Pool, "Immigrant and U.S. Army," *Aufbau*, 30 January 1942, 1.
5. Guy Stern has noted that the one exception may have been Signal Intelligence. In all likelihood no German-Jewish refugee was involved in the joint British-American success of breaking the German code. Guy Stern "In the Service of American Intelligence: German-Jewish Exiles in the War against Hitler." *Leo Baeck Year Book* 37 (1992): 461.
6. Most of the suspected enemy aliens taken into custody were subsequently released. Of the 23,000 taken into custody after 7 December 1941, only about 10,000 were ever interned. Although there was a small portion of German-Jewish refugees who were

arrested, few if any, were interned and proven to be apart of any form of German espionage. For a more complete description of the government's policy toward refugees during the war, see: David Wyman, *Paper Walls: America and the Refugee Crisis 1938-1941* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1985). And: See Maurice R. Davie. *Refugees in America: Report of the Committee for the Study of Recent Immigration from Europe* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1947).

7. *The Ritchie Boys.*

8. Davie, 192-194.

9. George Arnstein, email message to Joshua Franklin, 7 January 2007.

10. Alfred Erlich, interview with Joshua Franklin, September 2006.

11. Guy Stern, "The Jewish Exiles in the Service of US Intelligence: The Post-War Years," *The Leo Baeck Yearbook* 40 (1995): 51-52.

12. Previous to the United States' entrance to World War II, the American government had obtained information concerning possible enemy infiltration through the Alien Registration Act of 1940. The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) compiled a list of the people who they thought posed a significant threat to national security, and on the night of December 7th, began arresting these suspects. German-Jewish refugees however, were not well represented on this list of suspects. See Maurice R. Davie. *Refugees in America: Report of the Committee for the Study of Recent Immigration from Europe* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1947), 193.

13. Davie, 193-194.

14. The Selective Training and Service act of 1940 created the first draft in American history during a time of peace. Any male within the age range and a resident of the United States was eligible for military service. Davie 193.

15. Victor Brombert, *Trains of Thought: From Paris to Omaha Beach, Memories of a Wartime Youth* (New York: Anchor Books, 2002), 257.

16. *About Face: The Story of Jewish Refugee Soldiers of World War II*, dir. Steven Karras (2006; Chicago Buddy Pictures Inc).

17. This order was extended by Executive Order 9372 on August 27,1943. See Executive Orders Disposition Tables, National Archives. http://www.archives.gov/federal-register/executive-orders/disposition.html.

18. Previous to the Second War Powers Act of 1942, all immigrants were required to be residents of the United States for at least five years before they could obtain citizenship. The Second War Powers Act of 1942 amended the Nationality Act of 1940, and added sections 701, 702, and 705. Sections 701 and 702 of the amendments dealt with the expeditious naturalization of non-citizens in the United States Armed Forces. See: United States Citizenship and Immigration Services, "Naturalizations Since 1907" 01/20/06 http://uscis.gov/graphics/aboutus/history/since07.htm.

19. A handful of non-citizens were even naturalized overseas. This was the first time in American history that citizenship was granted outside the United States. The most common case however, was to be naturalized before going overseas. By the end of 1944, 101,653 non-citizens in the United States Armed Forces were naturalized., of which, 10,997 were naturalized overseas. See Davie, 199.

20. Even though under the Geneva Convention of 1929, non-citizen German-Jewish refugees would have been entitled to treatment consistent with a typical American POW, the guidelines of the rules of war were not always followed. Captured enemy-alien soldiers of German origin, especially German-Jewish origin, would realistically have been executed. Davie, 191.

21. Guy Stern, "The Post-War Years," 52.

22. G-1 indicates Army or Marine Corps component manpower or personnel staff officer (Army division or higher staff; Marine Corps brigade or higher staff). Military Abbreviations and acronyms of the US Armed Forces" Globemaster Dictionary, http://www.globemaster.de/html/dictionary.html.

23. Guy Stern, "The Post-War Years," 52.

24. Samuel Dickstein, New York congressman and chairman of the Immigration and Naturalization Committee had introduced a bill into congress to ease citizenship for Aliens in the Army, and enable enlistment for aliens in September of 1942. The Bill however failed. "To Ease Citizenship for Aliens in Army" *New York Times*, 30 September 1942, 12.

25. Estimate by Davie, 192.

26. See chart entitled "Percent of the German-Austrian Immigration Quota filled from 1933-1934" for details on the number of German-Jewish immigrants into the United States.

27. Alfred Erlich, Interview with Joshua Franklin, September 2006.

28. *The Ritchie Boys.*

29. Walter Spiegel, to Julian and Kathe Spiegel, 9 November 1945, Personal Files of Joshua Franklin, New York.

30. "U.S. Soldier Finds Father in Holland," *New York Times*, 3 June 1945, 14.

31. Walter Spiegel, to Julian and Kathe Spiegel, 17 December 1945, Personal Files of Joshua Franklin, New York.

ROADS BACK

—ALFRED MORITZ

My ancestral village of origin, the place where I am the last Jewish boy to have seen the light of day, Becherbach-bei-Kirn an der Nahe (to distinguish it from another nearby Becherbach in another Principality) is located on the left bank of the river Rhine, in the center of the Palatinate, an area of conflict that started with the Frankish and Teutonic tribes and lasted to more recent times.

In the course of the Napoleonic era, the Palatinate was annexed to France and divided into a number of "Départements", with the Jews subjected to the laws in effect in France at the time, including the adoption in 1808 of secular family names. Thereafter, official acts were prepared in both the French and German languages, printed concurrently on the same pages, though the French versions of the texts are at times ambiguous given the forced use of a new language by the local clerks.

My ancestors probably settled in those hills before the 17th Century when warfare, foreign invasions with inevitable mercenary pillaging, made life unsafe in the more accessible valleys. French King Louis XIV's local commander, the infamous General Melac, under whose command the Palatinate was set aflame in the late 17th Century continues, to this day, to be the ogre in children's bedtime stories. The ruins of the superb castle on the hill overlooking the lovely University town of Heidelberg are silent witnesses to the General's wantonness.

SOUGHT AS AN EYEWITNESS

A couple of German researcher-genealogists, from a town near our ancient seat of Becherbach, wrote to me in the US that they sought an eyewitness-victim of the pogrom of November 1938. They had been forced to extend their search to a wide area in the hope of tracking down at least one surviving eye-witness, as every Jew in their town of Sien, to the last man, woman and child had fallen victim to the Holocaust.

These good people, Ruth and Ulrich Eckhoff, former educators, obtained my address by going door to door in the whole wide region before, as they had hoped, coming upon my childhood nanny's brother, a former member of the "*Hitler Jugend,*" the HJ, to whom I have been sending year-end cards these many years simply to gloat, in a way, about my having survived.

The fellow was only too happy to oblige with my US address.The researchers wrote that they would appreciate a couple of pages of narrative, in German, for inclusion in a book they are writing regarding the former, numerically important, Jewish community of their own town. (They say they are aware of one lone Jewish survivor who, by coincidence, had been hidden in France by the same OSE Jewish rescuer group who had seen after my brother and me. Unfortunately, due to a freak accident, the fellow has lost his memory).

HISTORY IN THE ATTIC

As a "quid pro quo" for my acceding to their request, they provided access to abandoned family documents dating to former centuries found in a sort of "genizah", the attic where generations of a family of notaries in the nearby town of Grumbach had stored documents and which have now been transferred to a monastery under the auspices of the German Federal Archives. The documents, essentially of a commercial nature—contracts, deeds, disputes, liens—are, in many cases, signed by my ancestors in Hebrew, in the everyday simplified Rashi script dating to the 12th century and used in official acts before the use of the German language became mandatory in all legal and official documents in 1808. It is possible, through the passage of time as evidenced by these archives, to track the development of my family name of "Moritz".

Initially, ancestor Isaak being ordered to adopt a permanent name, simply signed in Rashi script as "Isaak Becherbach," the name of his home town. The adoption of place names as family names having been forbidden on the left bank of the Rhine, he needs obviously to rethink what he proposed to do though he probably did not take this requirement with the seriousness it merited; in his own mind it is probable that he felt sure that his Hebrew name would always remain his principal name whatever those hated French might impose; successively, signatures appear, no doubt as phonetic transcriptions, as *Moshe*, as *Moses*, as *Mosis* and the *Moris* and *Moriz* to finally permanently fix, for some unknown reason, on Moritz.

Documents indicate that ancestor Isaak bar Veit—Isaac son of Veit—was born in the town of Monzingen, now a prosperous town in the wine-making Nahe valley. My local genealogist friends organized an interview with the current mayor of Monzingen as I wondered why a young Jewish fellow from such a lovely, seemingly prosperous town would want to marry into a family up in those less prosperous hills of my childhood.

The mayor, a vintner, opined that, as usual in those days, ancestor Isaak's betrothed Sofia bas David, David's Sophie known locally as "*die Davidin*" --the David girl-- may have brought a dowry. In addition, the official knew that the valley towns at the time were without cease ravaged by invaders, mostly the French. Furthermore, this lovely town was not as prosperous then as it is today thanks to post WWII tourism; with easy travel, it is a Sunday outing for people from nearby Frankfurt as well as Speyer, Worms, and Mainz—known by the Hebrew acronym of SHUM, the holy cities of medieval Judaism. Tourism tied to the famous vineyards has created prosperity in these parts, a prosperity which did not exist two centuries ago when people were, in fact, close to starvation.

STUMBLING STONE ENDOWED

Researching the fate of the former Jewish inhabitants of Sien, a town the existence of which I had not been aware of before this fortuitous encounter, I am moved by the fate of a boy, Kurt Schlachter, four years

my senior, who as a teenage disappeared into the German industrialized killing machine. It is of course overwhelming that so many innocents should have seen their lives ended through no fault of their own and are, for the most part, forgotten, as if they had never been.

A Cologne sculptor, Gunter Demnig, was moved by this same realization and invented "stumbling stones"—in German, "*Stolpersteine*"—to be set in front of houses where Nazi victims had lived. His idea is that passers-by stumble over these stones protruding ever so slightly from the surface of the sidewalk and see the name of the deceased, a form of tombstone, a memorial of sorts of people who may have no other.

His original idea had been to place copper plates on the buildings where the victims had lived but it drew complaints from current occupants who do not wish to be reminded daily of their forefathers' deeds or of the way their parents may have obtained title to the property.

I sponsored a stone for Kurt Schlachter with whom, under other circumstances, I might well have become acquainted. My only condition was that the rather nominal cost be treated as an anonymous gift, as my late father held that true Mitzvah, true generosity, should be anonymous. My German friends organized the ordering and setting of the stone. The town fathers promptly authorized the setting on the public sidewalk and volunteered to have the town public works employee do the actual physical setting.

The stone was inaugurated in the presence of the townspeople, of elected officials from far and wide, with schoolchildren of Kurt's age of sixteen when he met his demise reciting eulogies. Kurt's stone reads "*Hier wohnte Kurt Schlachter JG 1926 deportiert 1942 ermordert in Auschwitz ("here resided Kurt Schlachter deported 1942 murdered in Auschwitz*").

My name has, as promised, not been mentioned though it was apparently said that an "anonymous Amerikaner" provided the funds. Since there is only one "Amerikaner" who ever comes to these parts, it did not result in much anonymity.

CEMETERY VISIT

My purpose in visiting the area of my ancestry most every year is, of course, to see to the maintenance of the family cemetery, the title to which had been held, before WWII, by my paternal grandmother. The German government has recently seen to the inclusion of surviving Jewish cemeteries in a registry of places under state protection—"*unter Denkmalschutz*", so that local officials are no longer able to sell plots to their friends, relations and neighbors as occurred in my ancestral town of Laufersweiler. (see "Stammbaum" issue 18 "A Slice of Nineteenth Century Life in the Hunsrueck", by the same author).

The recent inventory is entitled, in academic German, "*Heimatkundliche Schriftenreihe des Landkreises Bad Kreuznach—Jüdische Grabstätten im Kreis Bad Kreuznach—Geschichte und Gestaltung*" (Series of publications of locally historical character for the County of Bad Kreuznach—Jewish burial places in Bad Kreuznach County").

The old tombstones in the cemetery have inscriptions in German on the face and Hebrew on the back. Our grandfather's stele is of black granite and, though dating to 1908 and hence a hundred years old, is well preserved. The stele bears the name in German given to Jews a century earlier, in 1808, hence "ISIDOR MORITZ; on the back of the stele is inscribed grandfather Isidor's Jewish patronymic, namely "*Israel bar David Zwi*, that is, *Israel son of David Zwi*. As the firstborn son of the firstborn son, that is also my own Hebrew name.

The translator, possibly otherwise occupied and no doubt working from photographs, translates the Hebrew word "Zwi" correctly as the German equivalent "deer"—which, when Germanized, gives the family name of HIRSCH and, in nearby Alsace, the family name of CERF.

The German volume thus states that "here rests a man by the name of "Hirsch" although—ironically (or sadly)—the face of the tombstone clearly states that this is Isidor Moritz' resting place.

* An English version of "The former Jewish Community of Sien" is in Leo Baeck Institute Archives

MEN OF GOLD:
THE GOLDMANNS OF BURGHERSDORP, SOUTH AFRICA

BY ADAM YAMEY

After my matrilineal relative Henry Bergmann[1] committed suicide in 1866 in Aliwal North in the Cape Colony, and his will was read, it was found that his heirs included, "*Johanna and Arthur the children of my friend Louis Goldmann of Cape Town...*" Louis Goldmann, with Messrs. Bergmann and Sichel - all friends of Henry - appeared in this will as his appointed executors. While investigating Bergmann's activities in South Africa, I found numerous references to Louis Goldmann, his brother Bernhard, and Mr. Sichel. Bergmann was involved in business collaborations with all three of them. This and the discovery that the Goldmann family is related to my mother's cousins, the Friedlanders who lived in the Cape, led me to look into their story - a story of service to the British Empire.

BUISNESSMEN IN BURGHERSDORP

Burghersdorp, a small town in the Cape, is believed to have been founded in the 1820s by one of the '1820 Settlers' - John Montgomery from Baltinglass in Ireland. For a short while, the town had its own stock exchange. In 1847, the Mosenthal brothers, entrepreneurs from Kassel, opened a branch of their Port Elizabeth-based trading business in Burghersdorp, and appointed as its manager Louis Goldmann (born 1821 and died about 1877 in Frankfurt am Main). Louis lived in Africa with his brother Bernhard Nathan Goldmann (born 1817). They were born in Breslau in Prussia. Louis arrived in the Cape Colony in 1844 or 1845 and Bernhard arrived there in late 1851. In 1860, the business, known as *Mosenthal Brothers & Company* at Burghersdorp, jointly owned by the Mosenthal brothers and the Goldmann brothers, was dissolved, and re-established as *Goldmann Brothers*. The new company's directors were Louis and Bernhard Goldmann and Godfroy Sichel.[2] The Goldmann brothers, who had become British subjects by 1864, were involved in local government. Both became Justices of the Peace, and Bernhard was for a time a Member of the Cape House of Assembly. Before returning to Germany, Louis moved to Cape Town, while his brother remained in Burghersdorp a little longer.

On the 23rd August 1853, the gold prospector Pieter Jacob Marais, who was born in Cape Town, and had taken part in the 1849 California "Gold Rush", arrived in Burghersdorp. Marais, who was to become one of

the first European discoverers of gold in the Transvaal, was making a prospecting tour of South Africa when he met "Mr. Goldman, Scholz etc."[3] in Burghersdorp. I do not know which of the Goldmanns met Marais. According to one source, the Goldmann who met him, "...claimed to have discovered gold in the neighbourhood of the Crocodile and Jutskei Rivers". An unpublished history of the Bergmann family relates that Henry Bergmann, mentioned earlier, had borrowed a great deal of money to invest in gold mining. It relates that Henry had invested in gold shares that were connected to the major gold fortunes made by Beit and Wernher in South Africa. As Bergmann died in 1866 and the boom in gold was made later (in the 1870s), it is probable that Bergmann was speculating on the hopes raised by prospectors such as Marais.

FRANKFURTERS ABROAD

Richard Goldmann recalled in his autobiography[4] that his father, Bernhard, had a cultured friend in Burghersdorp, Gottfried (a.k.a. Godfrey and Godfroy) Sichel (1835-1904). Sichel was born in Frankfurt am Main, son of Daniel Sylvestro Sichel. A lawyer, he also studied chemistry at the Sorbonne[5] in Paris before setting out for Southern Africa, where he settled in Burghersdorp before 1860. Sichel was elected in 1866 as a Member of the Cape House of Assembly for the District of Albany in which Burghersdorp lies. Unfortunately, he was elected before receiving his Letters of Naturalisation. In a letter dated 26th January 1867, recognizing this, Sichel resigned his seat in the Assembly. Later, he was re-elected and served as member of the Legislative Assembly in Cape Town from 1879 to 1883.[6] Sichel moved to Cape Town, where he started various industrial enterprises, including a match factory in Rosebank - an enterprise in which his knowledge of chemistry would have been useful. Sichel married Charlotte Elizabeth Stuart (1848-1896) who was born in Sea Point, Cape Town, and during her brief life she bore him nine children. Godfrey died in his home in Cape Town. His sister Caroline Amalie Sichel (born 1844) joined her brother in Burghersdorp and married Louis Goldmann. She died in London in 1909.

Louis Goldmann devoted much of his time in South Africa to civic matters. He was a Justice of the Peace for a number of towns in the Cape Colony, and also held consular posts for various countries including Denmark and Turkey. Louis and his wife produced the two children named in Henry Bergmann's will. Like many of the early German Jewish settlers who became wealthy in South Africa, Louis retired to Germany. In about 1877, he died in Frankfurt, his wife's birthplace. His daughter, Johanna (who died in 1931), married Harry Mosenthal (1840-1915, a son of Adolph from Kassel - one of the founders of Mosenthal Brothers & Co.). Harry became a prominent member of South Africa's diamond industry and an associate of Cecil Rhodes.[7]

Born and educated in Eastern Germany, Bernhard Goldmann was raised in a cultured milieu. He became apprenticed to an optical instrument maker, but this ended abruptly when his eyesight was accidentally damaged by a splinter of steel. This and involvement in the revolutionary activities of 1848 led to him joining his brother in Burghersdorp. Bernhard became a prominent member of the town's civic and business communities. Bernhard married Augusta Friedlander in September 1857 in Richmond (Cape colony). In 1860, when Queen Victoria's son Prince Alfred was touring southern Africa, he was put up for a night in Bernhard's home. Bernhard's wife provided a picnic that the Royal party ate on their journey from Burghersdorp to Aliwal North. Bernhard and Augusta had the following children: Alice Johanna, Alfred, Charles Sydney, Edwin and Richard. Their stories are related below.

In 1876, Bernhard left Burghersdorp and took his family to Europe, where he retired. After a brief stay in London, the family settled in Breslau - the town in which Bernhard and his wife were born. Later, they moved

to Freiburg in the Black Forest. After Bernhard's death (sometime before 1894) his widow moved to London. There she lived at 9 Dawson Place near Bayswater.

BERNHARD'S CHILDREN

Bernhard Goldmann's sons prospered. Richard (1861-1953) and Charles (1868-1958) were involved in mining, and both ascended the social ladder. Edwin (1862-1913) achieved excellence in acadaemia. Alfred (1860-1919) and Charles returned from Germany to South Africa in about 1882. There, Alfred became a successful business man in Graaff Reinet (a dealer in furniture). He also ran a general dealership. His sister Alice (1864-1914) remained a spinster and lived with her widowed mother in London - she died in Freiburg.

Edwin was born in Burghersdorp in November 1862. After commencing his education at the Albert Academy in Burghersdorp, he attended the universities of Breslau and Freiburg (where in 1892 he became Professor of Surgery). In 1906, Edwin married Lorna Bosworth Smith from Dorset. One of their daughters, Lorna Grace (1908-2001) married Sir Stewart Gore-Brown, a settler and politician in Northern Rhodesia.[10] Edwin became a leading microbiologist, becoming a Fellow of the Royal Society of Medicine in London and an Associate of the prestigious Institute for Therapeutics run by Professor Paul Ehrlich[11] in Frankfurt. Ehrlich wrote in his obituary of Edwin, "With this splendid man science loses one of her best representatives". Cancer, one of the subjects of Edwin's research,[12] claimed his life.

Like Edwin Goldmann, who married the daughter of a 'landed' gentleman, and Johanna, who married one of the wealthiest men in South Africa, Richard and Charles also did well in the 'marriage stakes'.

On one of his sojourns in South Africa, Richard went to stay, in about 1887, with some of his relations in Middelburg, a town near Burghersdorp. There, he first met, and befriended, the Comte de Sarigny and his wife Constance (née Picard).[13] They became good friends and Richard spent at least one holiday with them in France (just after the end of the Anglo-Boer War). The Comte died in about 1905, and two years later the widowed Comtesse married Richard.

In 1899, Richard's younger brother Charles married another aristocrat - the Hon. Agnes Mary Peel, the second daughter of 1st Viscount Peel. Her father, son of the Prime Minister Robert Peel, served as a Member of Parliament from 1865 to 1895. The *Times* of London and the *London Gazette* contain many reports of Agnes's attendances at Buckingham Palace, notably in 1901 when she became a "Lady of Grace of the Grand Priory of the Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England." Among her father's many achievements was his support for Charles Bradlaughs' attempt to have the Oath of Allegiance changed to permit non-Christians to serve in the House of Commons - his Jewish son-in-law was, a few years later, to become an MP in the British Parliament.

RICHARD GOLDMANN

When his parents left Burghersdorp, Richard continued his education in Breslau to qualify as an engineer. Following his first job as an engineer with the Upper Silesian railways, he pursued higher studies at Karlsruhe. Amongst his earliest professional achievements was the preparation of the plans and specifications of a tramway system for Augsburg. Hearing of the developments in gold mining, Richard returned in 1886 to the Transvaal

in South Africa. Soon, he was mixing with men like Cecil Rhodes, and became an associate and consulting engineer with Consolidated Main Reef Mines & Estate Company.

On the eve of the Jameson Raid,[14] Richard collected weapons from the depot where they were being distributed and set out on horseback to join this escapade. For some reason he turned back, returned to Johannesburg, and missed it. During the 2nd Anglo-Boer War that started four years later, Richard was an accredited correspondent for *The Outlook* (edited by his brother Charles) and the *African Review.* He was present during, and reported on, the siege of Ladysmith.

After the war, Richard became a member of Johannesburg's Municipal Council, and stood for election (unsuccessfully) in the Transvaal Parliament in 1912. During the First World War, he visited the Western Front, and returned to South Africa to recruit soldiers for France. In his later years, Richard remained involved in South African affairs - both civic and commercial (as late as 1951, he continued to be a director of the East Rand Proprietary Mines). Richard died a childless widower, in Johannesburg.

In his mid-teens Charles returned to the South Africa, where he joined the gold rush in the Transvaal. In 1895 he became a partner in S. Neumann & Co.,[15] a leading gold-mining business.[16] He became an expert on mining and in 1892 he published an authoritative book— the first of several —about the gold and other companies of the Witswatersrand.[17] Two years later, Charles left South Africa to live in London. He married in 1899, when the Anglo-Boer War commenced. During this conflict, Charles served as Special War Correspondent with Sir Redvers Buller's force in Natal until the relief of Mafeking, and then with the cavalry under Lord Roberts in South Africa. Charles also made films in the battlefield - none of these survive.[18] He published an important account of the campaigns he witnessed.[19] His wife also contributed to the war effort, and is depicted nursing the wounded in a picture in the *Illustrated London News.*[20]

Charles remained a director of Neumann's until 1904. His experiences during the recent war in South Africa led to his involvement, in 1903, in the National Service League - an organization whose aim was to encourage compulsory conscription to prevent a recurrence of the "...muddle, humiliations, and disasters...as marked the course of the South African War... "[21] Although now residing in the London, at Queen Anne's Gate, Charles continued to maintain business (coal mining and timber) and wider interests in South Africa - he was appointed to help administer the Transvaal after it was taken over by the British.

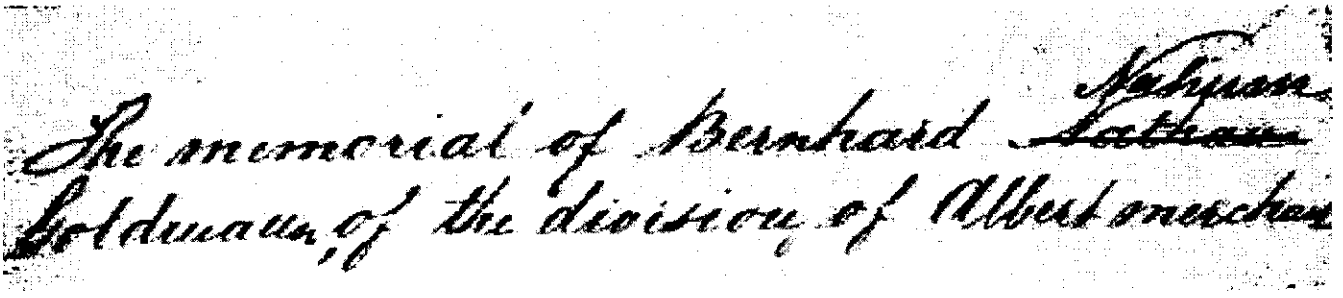
Between 1910 and 1918 Charles served as the Unionist Member of Parliament for Penryn & Falmouth in Cornwall - where he became a major in that county's Royal Garrison Artillery. He also edited the weekly newspaper *Outlook.* Charles and his wife collected fine art. Along with the gold and diamond magnates Beit and Wernher, Charles Goldmann helped to promote the founding of an art gallery in Johannesburg. In addition to his interests in South Africa, where he returned to live in about 1946, Charles was interested in East Africa and Canada, where, in 1919, he purchased a ranch, the Nicola Stock Farm in British Columbia, close to the coal mining community of Merrit. He died in Canada aged 90. Charles left two sons.

A WEDDING IN CAPE TOWN

In 1951, my mother's cousin R. Friedlander was married in Cape Town. Two elderly, distinguished gentlemen attended this wedding: Richard and Charles Goldmann. They were relatives of the groom. Their mother, Augusta Friedlander, was a first cousin of Isidore Friedlander (1836-1911), the grandfather of the groom. There may have been business connections between these two Goldmanns and the bridegroom's grand-

father - my great-grandfather - Franz Ginsberg, an industrialist based in King Williams Town. It was probably while visiting Isadore's family in Middelburg that Richard Goldmann first encountered his future wife.

In much of what I have read about Richard and Charles Goldmann, there is no mention that they were Jewish. There is little doubt that they were. An authoritative history of South African Jewry[22] confirms this. L. Goldman (sic) of Burghersdorp is listed among the members of Tikvath Israel (the first Jewish congregation in South Africa) before 1855. His brother, Bernhard, was a member of the Hebrew Congregation of Port Elizabeth. Richard Goldmann was listed among the Jewish candidates standing for election to the Legislative Assembly of the Transvaal in about 1907. Also, there is an amendment of an official document relating to Richard's father Bernhard. In a letter dated 23rd January 1864 in which Bernhard Goldmann is seeking to gain naturalization as a British Subject, his full name is given as "Bernhard Nathan Goldmann". However, in this letter the word "Nathan" has a line drawn through it, and above is written "Nahum" (see figure below):


The memorial of Bernhard ~~Nathan~~ Nahum Goldmann, of the division of Albertonuchen

In later documents "Nahum" rather than "Nathan" appears to have been his accepted middle name. Nahum is a name used commonly by Jews and rarely, if ever, by Gentiles. His wife Augusta Friedlander was Jewish.

Louis described himself eighteen years after his arrival in South Africa as being "...of the Protestant Religion." It seems that this former member of Tikvath Israel had altered his beliefs - maybe to blend better with the elevated members of the colonial society whom he met in Cape Town. However, Louis's daughter Johanna Mosenthal was buried many years later in Willesden Jewish Cemetery. In the 1929 *South African Jewish Yearbook,* his nephew Charles is described as a "convert". This suggests that Charles abandoned his Judaism. Louis's nephew Richard makes no mention of Jewish background in his detailed autobiography. Following Disraeli's example, I imagine that this was not a feature that members of a family which was moving into the upper echelons of late Victorian British society wished to publicize. Charles and Richard Goldmann exemplify the acculturation or assimilation that many Jews exhibited not only in 19th century Britain but also in Germany and France.

The story of the Goldmann family from Breslau describes a German Jewish family that emigrated to a British Colony before the Jews were emancipated in Germany. The Goldmann brothers, and their friends (Bergmann and Sichel) who arrived in South Africa during the same period, were well-educated in Germany, and eminently suited intellectually for the roles they were to play in the civil administration of their new home. They were able to enrich themselves, and also to return something by participating in the government of the country (by becoming Justices of the Peace and Members of Parliament etc.) - something that would have been denied to them as Jews in the German lands. That Bernhard and Louis were still German at heart is shown by their choice of Germany as their place of retirement. Their friend Godfrey Sichel was unusual for German Jews of his generation who ventured out to the Cape - he did not retire to his native land. The Goldmanns' children, all born in South Africa, did not feel allegiance to Germany. This is clear from the services that they rendered to the British Empire.

In addition to the specific sources cited in the list of numbered notes, I have made extensive use of the following:

1. *Merchant Pioneers* by D. Fleischer & A. Caccia, published by Jonathan Ball: Johannesburg, 1983.
2. Documents from the National Archives of South Africa (Cape Town depository).
3. *The Jews in South Africa* by G Saron & L Hotz, publ. by Oxford University Press: Cape Town, 1955.
4. The *Times* Newspaper (London).
5. The *London Gazette*.
6. Various volumes of *Who was Who*, publ. by A&C Black: London

NOTES

1. Henry Bergmann (1831-1866): his story is described in my article in *Stammbaum*, Issue 25, 2004.
2. From documentary information provided by Harold Hodes.
3. See *Argonauts of the Rand*, by D. S. Preller, publ. by Central News Agency: Johannesburg, 1935.
4. *A South African Remembers* by R. Goldmann, publ. by Cape Times Ltd: Cape Town, 1947. R(ichard) Goldmann was one of Bernhard Goldmann's sons, and his book is the source of much of the information about Bernhard's branch of the family.
5. See R. Goldmann, page 6.
6. See article on G. Sichel in *Southern African Dictionary of National Biography* by E. Rosenthal, publ. by F. Warne: London, 1966.
7. See Harry's obituary in the London *Times*, 13th Jan., 1915.
8. See the article by H. Hodes and myself in *Shemot*, March 2006 Volume 14, No. 1.
9. Alice has the name 'Johanna' as does her cousin, the daughter of Louis Goldmann.
10. *Dictionary of National Biography.*
11. Paul Ehrlich (1854-1915) was a leading microbiologist who won the Nobel Prize for medicine in 1908 (see: http://nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/medicine/laureates/1908/ehrlich-bio.html).
12. Edwin's research also provided some of the earliest experimental evidence for the existence of the blood-brain barrier.
13. Most of my information about the de Sarigny family comes from Sandi de Sarigny.
14. The Jameson Raid, which was supposed to have been an attempt to topple the leader of the Transvaal, Paul Kruger, started on 29th, Dec., 1895 (see for example: http://www.sahistory.org.za/pages/specialprojects/anglo-boer-wars/jameson-raid.htm).
15. See London Times, 3rd Aug., 1895.
16. For much information about the Bavarian-born Sigmund Neumann and his extensive involvement in South African gold, see *The Randlords* , by G Wheatcroft, publ. by Weidenfeld & Nicholson: London, 1985.
17. See London *Times*, 4th Feb, 1892.
18. See http://www.bfi.org.uk/nftva/catalogues/catalogue/2 .
19. *With General French and the Cavalry in South Africa* by C.S. Goldmann, publ. by Macmillan: London, 1902.
20. See: http://angloboerwar.com/Other/iln/iln_189912.htm .
21. See London *Times*, 5th Sept., 1903. Compulsory National Service was introduced in the UK just before the Second World War, and was ended in the early 1960s.
22. See Saron & Hotz.

JEWISH LIFE IN THE COMMUNITY OF OBERWINTER IN THE RHINE VALLEY

UTE METTERNICH
(Translated by Kai Mummenbrauer)

Ten years ago, my husband, who was then chairman of the "Rathausverein Oberwinter" (a society for local history), received a letter from Professor Micha Levy of Jerusalem in which the professor explained that his paternal ancestors originated in Oberwinter. Professor Levy asked if he knew anything about them. When my husband brought the letter home to me, I had little idea of how this letter would lead me to an interesting genealogical search.

I was born and raised in this small town of less than 4000 people. In my youth, I had learned about National Socialism in Germany and the persecution of the Jews, but I never knew that Jewish people had once lived in my own community. After receiving this clue from Professor Levy, I wanted to find out more. I first spoke with the oldest inhabitants of Oberwinter and discovered that there was only one person in Oberwinter, a 97-year old lady, who had personally known any Jews in the town. This old lady had attended the Protestant school with some Jewish children. She told me that a young Jewish man had been the first person from Oberwinter killed in action during World War I.

A lot of older people remembered the Jewish cemetery, but I was not able to find its exact location for some time. In conversations with contemporary witnesses, I was told about different houses where Jewish people had once lived. The townspeople brought up the name "Levy" numerous times, but did not remember any other names. It soon became evident that the last Jews had left the village between 1910 and 1920.

The archivist of Remagen (Oberwinter having become a part of that city in 1968) gave me the names that he had collected of some Jewish families. Unfortunately the registration file of Oberwinter had not been preserved, and so it has been impossible to trace who and where they had moved. In the memorial publication for the victims of the Holocaust,[1] I learned about the terrible end of many Jewish people who had been born in Oberwinter. As the locations of deportation for the town's Jews are listed in the memorial book, I could in some cases retrace the story of the lives and sufferings of these people.

Sometimes by mere chance I found out more. Thus among my own possessions I came across a document bearing the date of 1884 that regulated the sale of a garden belonging to the Jewish brothers and sisters of the Wolf family to one Peter Vogels, an ancestor of my husband. From this document I learned that Fanny and Sibilla Wolf had succeeded as owners of a shop dealing in haberdashery goods and wool to their brother Isaac, who had died a bachelor.

Renovating an old house, under the floorboards in his attic, one of the members of our society for local history found a tiny old bottle of hair tonic stained with mortar, to which stuck a page out of a Jewish prayer book. Realizing that he had found something quite out of the ordinary, the man took care to preserve it. Three years ago, once again just by chance, I came in contact with a lady now living in Cologne whose grandfather, Ferdinand Stausberg, had lived in Oberwinter from 1871 to 1879 and had, in the time between 1914 and 1918, recalled his memories of that period in a diary. He had been a close friend of Julius Levy and so the diary provided us with many details concerning the Levy family that were not to be found in official documents.[2] In addition to my own studies of land registers and to research on the internet, personal contact to authors who have written books about the Jews of our region has been of great help in many cases, not to mention the valuable suggestions from those working in the various archives. I hereby wish to express my gratitude to all of these people.

DOCUMENTS OF PROTECTION AND REGULATIONS FOR JEWS

Until the end of the 19th century, Jews in the Rhineland remained second-class citizens who had to face repression, exploitation and social exclusion. Special regulations for the Jews (*Judenordnungen*) issued by the respective sovereigns regulated the lives of the Jews. Jewish people who wanted to settle in a community first had to acquire a document of protection from the sovereign. Anybody not in possession of such a document could be expelled at any time. Aiming at keeping the number of protected Jews as low as possible, those in possession of a document of protection were ordered "to sever all bonds with their adult children" and were subject to many restrictions. The Regulations for the Jews of Cologne, for example, did not entitle Jews to acquire real estate unless provided with a special letter of approval from the elector himself. It was also expressly set down that "a noticeable difference between Christian freedom and Jewish servitude is to be observed."[3]

Since the village repeatedly came under the rule of different sovereigns, we cannot state exactly to what extent the Jews of Oberwinter were affected by protective taxes and special regulations. In 1318 the village

became a fiefdom of Gerhard von Landskron, to whom, on the first of September 1336, the privilege "always to keep and protect 12 Jews in his territory" was granted by Emperor Ludwig. The political climate regarding the Jews is said to have been very restrictive in the dukedom of Juelich, to which one half of Oberwinter had belonged from 1567 until 1593 the remainder of the village was added to its territory. In 1608, a 1554 Police Rule was reissued which was to regulate the "keeping at bay" of Jews in the dukedoms of Juelich and Berg, but documents of protection continued to be issued until, in 1779, the last of these documents were granted to 221 families in Juelich and Berg.[4]

With the French occupation of the Rhineland in 1794 the legal situation slowly began to change for the Jews. In 1798 the French Civilian Status Law was established in the departments of the left side of the Rhine. In 1808 the Emperor Napoleon (in what became known as the "shameful decree") once more limited the rights of the Jewish population. In the same year he issued another decree in which all Jewish subjects were ordered to adopt definite names and surnames within three months.

And so, Oberwinter being a part of the "*Landbuergermeisterei Remagen.*" Jewish inhabitants totalling 35, among them the Jews of Oberwinter, came to the City Hall on October 26th, and declared their new names.[5] The names of the Jews of Oberwinter have been set down as follows:

Salomon Levy and Veronique Levy kept their old names,
Fromet Barauch became Veronique Schoen,
Abraham Levy became Germain/Hermann Levy,
Jakob Levy became Jacques Levy,
Teubgen Levy became Josefine Levy and
Scheidgen Levy became Francoise Levy.

Christian births, weddings and deaths have been documented in the church registers since 1792 in the lands left of the Rhine, but until 1808 we do not have any official records about the Jewish population. Both the old Jewish tradition to use the name of the father as a name for the child and the declaration of new names in 1808 have made genealogical research difficult because of issue of relating persons who are mentioned before 1808 to their respective families. To make matters worse, the new German Data Protection Act seriously constrains research because personal data from 1876 onwards is inaccessible to the general public.

In 1814 the Russian Cossacks expelled the French and, with all the lands on the left shore of the Rhine, Oberwinter became a part of Prussia.

In 1869 a new Prussian Law for Jews abolished the repressions that Napoleon's Decree of 1808 had imposed upon them. With the foundation of the German Reich in 1871 all Jews in the entire territory of Germany gained equality. It wasn't long until many of them took leading positions in economy, culture and science.

For centuries, if not for thousands of years, people in Oberwinter have earned their livelihood by agriculture, winemaking, and fishing. Oberwinter and the smaller neighboring villages are being mentioned as fiefs of monasteries and feudal lords, which means that the inhabitants had to give large parts of their income to the liege lords. Because of the village's geographical position on the shore of the Rhine, it was destined to be used as a transit camp for all sorts of armies on the move, pillaging and plundering it time and again, thus adding to the many afflictions of the destitute population, whose lives were not easy. In fact, most of the people were

exceedingly poor.

Throughout the centuries, the Rhine functioned as a major route for transportation. Sailing ships carried merchandise down the river and were, on their return journey, towed up stream with the help of horses. The village had a stable where the horses could rest or be exchanged and an inn called "The Anchor" where the "Rheinhalfen", the men who made a living by leading the horses, could stay. With the onset of steam navigation on the Rhine, these men lost their income.

In 1857 a train station was built in Rolandseck, a northern part of Oberwinter, to be followed in 1899 by a second station in the village itself. From then on Oberwinter was to profit from the growing network of transportation and the ever increasing number of tourists that came for holidays. At the same time a major means of income suddenly failed. Winemaking had to be given up entirely, since large parts of the vines had fallen prey to the vine pest and repeated efforts to limit the damage had been ineffective. With the recently founded Society of Winegrowers, many families went bankrupt. For a few years, the construction of a little shelter harbour in 1891 provided the male inhabitants with an opportunity to earn a meager income, loading and unloading the goods as day laborers.

It seems worth mentioning that, unlike most of the communities in the predominantly Catholic Rhineland, the history of Oberwinter was shaped by the Reformation. As the religion of the population depended on that of its sovereign ("Cuius regio, eius religio"), at times Oberwinter was Catholic, at other times Protestant. Through the centuries, a relatively large Protestant parish established itself alongside the Catholic one, and this led to many conflicts.

WRITTEN EVIDENCE OF JEWISH INHABITANTS IN OBERWINTER

In the "Germania Judaica," it is mentioned that Jewish moneylenders lived in Oberwinter in the 1320s .[11]

Uri Veibesch from Oberwinter died in Leutesdorf (a little village on the other bank of the Rhine) and was buried in Hammerstein in 1612.[7] Sebastian Dunkhass bonded real estate to the Jew Joist in 1647.[8] The Jews named Brosius, Hirz, Leiser and Moyses from Oberwinter were registered as they went to the market in Linz between 1710 and 1714[9] where they had to pay "Judenleibzoll" (body tax for Jews). In 1717, when all the male heads of families had to pledge loyalty to their sovereign, "Moyses Judt" was mentioned as one of them.[10] Rosa Cahn of Oberwinter became midwife of the "Landbuergermeisterei Remagen" (i.e. of Oberwinter and the other smaller villages in the neighbourhood) in 1819.[11] The journal "Rheinischer Antiquarius" listed two Jewish families with 10 persons in 1782.

Statistics about the Jewish population in the communities belonging to the district of Koblenz ("Juedische Bevoelkerung in Gemeinden des Regierungsbezirks Koblenz") of the years 1858, 1895, and 1929 list the population of Oberwinter according to religion:[12]

Year	Catholic	Protestant	Jewish	Total
1858	888	406	22	1318
1895	1052	440	15	1507
1925	1216	429	--	1650

According to the "Rheinischer Antiquarius" of 1862, three Jewish families totalling 10 people were living in Oberwinter.[12]

Oberwinter a. Rh. 1925

In January 1863 Mayor Beinhauer wrote a letter to County Commissioner von Groote in Ahrweiler, stating that "4 [Jewish] families with 20 souls" were then living in Oberwinter.[13]

In 1857 the families of Jakob Levy and David Heymann were listed.[14] A paper dated 1866 offers a list of 23 people, but regretfully with no names.[15] The tax register of 1879/1880 shows 5 Jewish families.[16]

These are the families of

Heymann, David (later called: David, Hermann)

Levy, Jakob

Levy, Max

Levy, Simon

Wolff, Isaac

RELIGIOUS LIFE AND SCHOOL FOR JEWISH STUDENTS

As the highest number of registered Jewish people in Oberwinter amounted to a total of 23 residents, it is to be assumed that there was not an official minyan ever held in Oberwinter since the required presence of at least 10 male adults was probably not possible. The few families who lived here were too poor to build a synagogue or to pay a rabbi. In 1859 a Synagogue Association was founded it Sinzig, to which nine individual *kehillas* (communities) belonged, Oberwinter being one of them.[17] In 1869 the Jewish *kehilla* of Remagen, which included the Jews of Oberwinter, celebrated the official opening of the newly-built synagogue.[18] According to the fashion of the times, the synagogue was erected in oriental style. On this occasion with the Jewish population, the mayor and the town councillors participated in the celebration, Jews and Christians had decorated the streets with garlands. The people from Oberwinter had to walk about 5 kilometers to reach the synagogue, about 1 hour each way. The synagogue also organized social events, for instance a Hanukkah-party in December 1920[19] and a meeting of the "Handwerkerchewra", a society founded to encourage young Jews to

learn a trade or a craft.

For a long time education in Germany had been a privilege for the children of the ruling classes. Jewish teachers wandered through the land and taught school wherever they stayed and to whomever could afford the fees. For the Protestant parish of Oberwinter, the first teacher was hired in 1580 at the latest, by 1645 the Catholic parish also employed a schoolmaster. Of the 107 Jewish children required to attend school in 1823 in the county of Ahrweiler, 78 went to Jewish schools, 5 to a Protestant school (probably in Oberwinter), while the remaining children did not go to school at all. In 1824 the state issued regulations for the education of Jewish children, criticizing the low level of education on the part of the teachers, the absence of any subject taught with the aim of enhancing general education, and the fact that girls were excluded from school to a large extent. By 1824 education for Jewish children in Germany had become compulsory. In our region most Jewish students went to Christian schools, where due consideration is said to have been given both to their holidays and to the customs and regulations of their religion.[20]

I came across the first testimony about a Jewish boy attending school in Oberwinter in a letter from the Protestant priest dated 1839. The priest complained that several pupils, among them Salomon Levi, had failed to attend the instructions in November and that their fathers had consequently been ordered to account for this in the town hall.[21] Though in 1850 a Jewish teacher of primary and religious education was working nearby in Remagen, the children of Oberwinter still attended the two Christian elementary schools of the village. A teacher named Mannheimer taught Jewish religion in Remagen from 1897 to 1898. He had 10 students. Starting in 1899, a teacher named H. Friedmann gave lessons to 13 children in Sinzig, adding students from Remagen in 1901.[22]

THE JEWISH CEMETERIES OF OBERWINTER AND ROLANDSECK

Though countless witnesses have given incontestable evidence for the existence of cemeteries in both Oberwinter and Rolandsdeck, so far it has not been possible to find a written document that names the location of the cemetery in Rolandseck. The cemetery in Oberwinter was situated opposite today's train station and covered only 55 square meters of ground. It was set down in the original land register of 1834[23] as owned by the "Israelitische Gemeinde" (Jewish community). Old people spoke about very old and flat tombstones in Oberwinter. In 1936 during the Nazi-regime, a new main road was built there and all the tombstones disappeared. Nothing has so far been found out about the whereabouts of these stones.

We do not know why a second cemetery was founded in Rolandseck. Perhaps there was no vacancy left in the cemetery of Oberwinter. It is also possible that French occupation, which forbade burials in Rhine flood zones caused the Jewish community to construct another cemetery (Because of the French rule, the Catholic church founded a cemetery in 1808 on higher ground. The old Jewish cemetery of Oberwinter had been located near the Rhine and was periodically flooded).

The Jewish cemetery of Rolandseck had been situated on the property of Julius Levy. Later he was to sell this land, which now has become property of the "Stiftung Bahnhof Rolandseck". (On a parcel of land bordering on this, the New York architect Richard Meier is building a new Museum for the works of the German artist Hans Arp and his wife Sophie Taeuber-Arp). In 2001, seven tombstones that had been removed from their original graves lay on the slope behind the large steel entrance gate. In a protocol, the forester of Rolandseck gave witness that he had marked the burial grounds by planting conifers. As the stones were found under conifers it is to be supposed that this is the very place where the Jewish men and women had been buried. In 2002

on orders of the Jewish community of Koblenz, the remaining seven tombstones were sent to the old Jewish cemetery in Remagen.

The tombstones of Rolandseck were manufactured from sandstone with rounded edges in the time between 1883 and 1900. Three stones belong to the family David/Wolf, four to the Levy-family, two of which are embellished with remarkably beautiful Levites' pitchers. The four stones of the Levy family along with a German inscription also bear an extensive text in Hebrew, honouring the deceased person. They also feature a Hebrew blessing: "May his (her) soul be bound up in the bond of eternal life." On the gravestone of Adelheid David we find a star (not the Star of David) and a palm leaf, like those being used as a symbol for rebirth and immortality by the Christians. The tombstone of Fani Wolf is decorated with a Star of David (this symbol usually signifies the tomb of a man), but this stone is the only one without any text in Hebrew. The mixture of German and Hebrew texts and the use of symbols, which can be both of Jewish and of Christian origin, may suggest an assimilation of the persons buried here.

Witnesses of the time remember that, until about 1970, 25-30 Jewish tombstones were still standing both on this ground and on another piece of land bordering on it. In spite of every effort I could not come up with any information as to where the other stones may be found. A former owner of the area, obviously lacking even the slightest trace of respect for the rest of the dead and the eternal irrevocability of a Jewish cemetery, had the stones removed, because he intended to erect a private building on the place. Even though a theory has been put forth according to which the stones found in Rolandseck had simply been removed from Oberwinter, transported to the neighbouring village to be stored there, and that consequently no cemetery had ever existed in Rolandseck, a large number of witnesses object this theory.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE JEWISH AND CHRISTIAN POPULATION

Today we only can speculate about the Jewish-Christian relationship in former times. A lot of non-Jewish authors, who have written books about the Jewish population of their home-villages, marked the good relationship between the religious groups. This may have resulted from the wish to believe that there simply could not have been any anti-Semitism in one's own community, or at least in one's own social environment. However understandable such a wish may be, it still might not go much beyond mere wishful thinking. As for Oberwinter we certainly do not find ample material which would answer the question concerning the quality of the mutual relationship of the religious groups. Studying documents from villages and cities in the vicinity from the Middle Ages, we come across much evidence that the Jews were regarded as unwelcome competitors in the fight for food and survival, especially by the common folk.[24]

Beginning with the attendance of Jewish children in Christian schools in the 19th century, at least some degree of social interaction must have occurred in the different groups, transcending the mere economic rivalry of the past. The Christian farmers liked to do business with the Jews who traded in cattle, for they knew them as reliable partners in business.

A lot of anti-Jewish prejudices in the Christian society were grounded on religious differences and fed by ignorance about the Jewish religion. As I have already pointed out, the mutual coexistence even of the two Christian groups in Oberwinter was not always uncomplicated no matter what people may say today. Perhaps the existence of two different Christian parishes in a region where only Catholicism was to be found elsewhere, led to some more tolerance for the third religious group, the Jews.

So-called interreligious marriages have been unthinkable for a long time, not only Jewish-Christian marriages but also marriages between Catholics and Protestants. The newspaper *Bonner Zeitung* wrote on October 12th 1854: "Today in Niederbreisig a Catholic girl who has married a Jew will be excommunicated. The local synagogue is also said to have decided to exclude the Israelite from the parish, because he married a Christian girl."[25] For many Jews the way to social promotion and complete equality was only opened for them if they consented to Christian baptism. For a long time proselytizing Jews and convincing them to receive baptism was considered highly praiseworthy among Christians. In 1843 in Cologne the "Rheinisch-Westfaelischer Verein für Israel" ("Rhenish-Westphalian Society for Israel") was founded, a society for the "Befoerderung des Christentums unter den Juden" (Promotion of Christianity among the Jews). In the Protestant church of Oberwinter funds were raised for this purpose and the Protestant priest informed his colleague, that "the ever so brave supporter of the mission of the heathens [!], local tailor master Pertz, is also already engaged in ardent endeavours ...."[26] Nonetheless in Oberwinter there were no known conversions of Jews to Christianity.

By the end of 19th century both sides increased their efforts for mutual acceptance, as the example of Christian authorities participating in the celebrations for the inauguration of the new synagogue in Remagen shows. At the inauguration of the new Catholic Church in 1872 both Jews and Protestants decorated their houses with flags and leaves.[27]

The only woman of our parish who went to school with Jewish children told me that they were treated like all the other pupils and were exempt from attendance on Sabbath. The diary of Ferdinand Stausberg speaks about his friendship with the Jewish boy Julius Levy. The children of both families where intimate with members of the other family and the Levy family gave matzoh to the Christian children on Passover. Ferdinand and Julius stayed friends when they moved to Cologne.

Another witness of the time, though, reported the shady prejudices of her parents: "My mother told me that she used to run quickly past the Jewish houses, because it somehow felt eerie for her, particularly when a person in that house has died." The dialect-nickname "Juedde-Jul" (Jew Julius), commonly used for Julius Levy, gives reason to suppose that people, distinguishing him from others of the same (and in those days quite popular) name by this attribute, were aware of the fact that he was a Jew and that, together with this, there must have been some notion of him being "different in some way or the other".

Therefore I venture to say that a factual, complete emancipation of the Jews had never been realized in the heads of Christian Germany. Had it been otherwise, how then could we account for the fact that after only a short interval of legally vouchsafed equality the terrible ideas and notions of National Socialism fell on such fertile ground in most parts of Germany?

JEWISH FAMILIES AND INDIVIDUALS IN OBERWINTER

The limited space of an article in a journal excludes remembering all the Jewish people who once lived in Oberwinter. The material I have collected is extensive and includes, along with data pertaining to individual families, further information about professions, houses, cities where people moved to, and some anecdotes. Only in few rare cases could I obtain a photograph of the people. Even though the archives of the Rathausverein contain countless photographs of school classes dated before 1900, there is now nobody alive who can identify the students. Here is a short survey of each Jewish family.

As already mentioned before, the percentage of Jews in Oberwinter's population was not very high. Most of

them worked as butchers or in the cattle trade and almost all were poor. In the early 19th century, when the land registers were begun, they owned unpretentious houses which quite often they shared with other families, and also small gardens, fields and vineyards, because, just like their Christian neighbors, by working in their professions they could not cover their expenses and earn enough to make a living. A striking fact to the modern observer, Jewish wives were often older than their husbands and it was also not unusual that distant relatives, for instance cousins, would get married.

When the Jews were granted equality in the second half of 19th century, many of them moved to the bigger cities where they hoped to find better schools for their children and better opportunities of earning money in their own professions. So industrialization, rural migration, and the slow impoverishment of the population of Oberwinter due to the vine pest might well be the main reasons why the Jews moved away from Oberwinter in the late 19th and early 20th century.

Some families or persons lived in Oberwinter for a short time only, like the sisters Rosetta and Berta Hermanns, who came here at the age of 4 and 6 from Rheinbreitbach,[28] a village situated on the right bank of the Rhine. We do not know for how long they lived here, but their mother had died shortly before coming to Oberwinter. They might have found temporary accommodation in Oberwinter before their father remarried and took them with him to Inden-Lucherberg[29] where they grew up.

Crossing the river, the David family, too, had moved to Oberwinter from Unkel on the right bank of the Rhine. Hermann David is a good example to show how difficult it is to find out about what happened to Jewish people once they had come here, because we have various names for him. In 1821 he was born under the name of Hermann Nathan in Unkel. In 1846, the year of declaration of names on the right side of the Rhine, he took the name Heumann David. In different written documents his name is Heymann David or David Heumann. He was working as a butcher, married Adelheid Wolff from Muenstereifel and had six children with her. One child (Fanny I) died in infancy. Adam David emigrated to Chicago. Isidor founded a family in Muenstereifel and became a merchant. Gustav became a merchant in Duengenheim near Kaisersesch. Fanny II became the wife of Adolf Aron (or: Aaron), a master-glazier from Waldenburg in Silesia who founded a glazier-shop in Bad Honnef (right side of the Rhine, 2 km from Oberwinter). Isidor, Gustav, and Fanny II died natural deaths. Most of their descendants were murdered by the National Socialists.

At the age of 75, Adolf Aron returned to Bad Honnef as a survivor of the concentration camp Theresienstadt. Two years later he died in the Hospital of the "Sisters of Dernbach"[30] who had given him shelter upon his return.

Three granddaughters of Gustav David managed to escape from Nazi-Germany and to emigrate to England and America, but their youngest sister and their mother were deported and perished in Poland.[31]

Daniel Meyer and his wife Jeannette, née Cahn, were running a butcher's shop. Their stay in Oberwinter is documented from 1893 to 1910. Near the house with the butcher's shop they owned vineyards, meadows and a little forest. In 1899 two of their children attended a Christian school in Oberwinter. Daniel Meyer was a paying member of the village's volunteer fire brigade. Six children were born to the couple while they lived in Oberwinter, one died in infancy. Their eldest son, Walter, married Frieda Harf from Hochneukirch,[32] in January 1914 their only child Erich was born. Walter became a soldier in the Reserve Infantry Regiment nr. 98 and, when World War I started, he died on September 17th, 1914. He is buried in the cemetery for fallen soldiers in Troyon (France). His wife Frieda was deported to Riga on December 10th, 1941, where she perished. Their son Erich emigrated to Colombia in 1937, where he married Alice Nathan from Cologne. They had 4 children and returned to Germany in 1950.

Rosa und Mathilde Meyer were deported with their husbands to Auschwitz and Minsk and perished there. Max Meyer escaped to the Netherlands, but was caught there and also deported.[33] Leo Meyer emigrated to Chile and came back to Germany about 1970. He settled in Duesseldorf.[34]

The Wolf/Wolff-family is found among those who appear on the tax-list of 1879. To Isaak Abraham and his wife Sibille Nathan was born a boy with the first name David in Oberwinter on January 29th 1779. Later his name was David Wolf. He married Adelheid Abraham from Flamersheim. Between 1815 and 1823 the children Isaak, Sibilla and Veronika (Fanny) were born to them, all of whom died unmarried. When Isaak died in 1884 he left a parcel of land to his sisters, who sold it to Peter Vogels.[35] A document provides us with the information that the sisters were running a little shop for haberdashery goods and wool and, furthermore, that Sibilla could not sign the contract, because she did not know how to write. The sisters died in 1886 and 1898.

The Levy family lived in Oberwinter for at least 200 years. The first family member we learn about is Moyses, who is mentioned as head of the family in the homage-list of 1717.[36] Apart from Moyses we find Brosius, Hirz and Leiser mentioned in the "*Judenleibzollregister*"[37] of Linz between 1710 and 1714. Since these three men are not to be found on the homage-list of of 1717, they might have been sons of Moyses. Meanwhile I could trace back the names of more than 100 people who belonged to the Levy-family of Oberwinter, though not all of them were born here. The family's profession in former times was the cattle trade, but they also worked as butchers or shohet (Kosher butcher). In the 19th century they became active in other professions as cooks, commercial assistants, accountants, and merchants. In the middle of 19th century the members of the Levy family gradually moved to the bigger cities in the vicinity like Bonn, Cologne, Düsseldorf and Wuppertal, where some of them, like Siegmund Levy, born in Oberwinter in 1876, met with good economic fortune. He became a publisher of the Journal of the Chamber of Commerce in Düsseldorf. In 1908 he married Julie Ursell from Mülheim, who had founded a shop for female fashion goods called "Ursell" in Bonn, which existed until 1995 and had remained the property of her nephew. Siegmund and Julie Levy could afford to send their son Maximilian (Mordechai) to study at University, and he received his PhD in Cologne in 1933 as one of the last Jewish students. He then emigrated to Israel. Siegmund Levy, who was an ardent German patriot, fought for Germany in World War I. Germany showed no sign of gratitude for his patriotism. He and his wife visited their son in Israel in the 1930s and they came back to Germany, because they did not want to become a burden for the young family in Israel and also, because they still hoped that anti-Semitism would turn out to be a temporary phenomenon. Both were deported to Izbica in 1943 and perished, like so many other members of the Levy family of that generation.

Besides these families we know of three other Jewish people with the names Veibesch, Joist, and Cahn who lived here. Uri Veibesch from Oberwinter died about 1612 in Leutesdorf and was buried in Hammerstein. He and his daughters are mentioned in the memorial book of Niederbreisig.[38] His daughters Gitle/Guetle and Saerchen were buried on the old Jewish cemetery near Castle Rheineck in Bad Breisig, his daughter Rechle in Trier. The memorial book also mentions that Uri Veibesch, son of Mosche Jischai, was arrested and held for two years in a tower ("Wohlluft-Turm") and that he had to pay 400 pieces of gold before he could leave his prison. The book praises him for his studies of the Torah and the charity of his sons.

Sebastian Dunkhass bonded his manor to the Jew Joist in 1647.[39] Further information about Joist could not be ascertained. Rosa Cahn became a midwife in Oberwinter and the villages around in 1819.[40] Even though she did good work, some Christian women avoided her, because she was Jewish. By 1821 she was called "Widow Cahn", received a salary of 10 Taler, free accommodation and firewood.[41]

In the beginning of 20th century an elderly couple, the Protestant butcher Gustav Nowack and his Jewish wife Sabine Nowack were owners of a little slaughterhouse and running a butcher's shop for oxen in

Oberwinter. Quite a few anecdotes about Sabine have been handed down to us. The couple moved away in 1933, because the house with the butcher shop had burned down. It is said that they were getting up in years by then and it remains unknown where they went after they left Oberwinter and what befell them.[42]

Rosa Doerflinger and her son Karl-Heinz from Cologne found refuge and help at the end of World War II in the house of a farmer in Oberwinter. Mrs. Dörflinger was born in Mühlheim on June 18th 1887 and had married the Christian master-tailor Wilhelm Dörflinger from St. Goarshausen. Their son Karl-Heinz was born on June 21st, 1920, and was baptized. After the end of the war the Dörflinger family moved into an apartment in Oberwinter, Mr. Dörflinger opened a tailor's shop and trained some apprentices. Among them was a daughter of one of the adopted Jewish women mentioned above, another one was Kaethi Gickeler, whose mother Rosalia had been nursemaid in the Jewish family of Professor Otto Löwenstein in Bonn. Rosalia Gickeler assisted the Löwenstein family in forwarding their furniture to Switzerland after emigrating and she went once more to live with the Loewenstein family in the years 1952-54, to become a nursemaid for the next generation. Even today, descendants of the families are in contact.

With the help of her husband Robert Murmann (1901-1984) Johanna Kirchhoff (née Wolff) survived the Nazi era in Oberwinter. Mrs. Murmann was born on May 27th 1902 in Bremerhaven. Robert Murmann was a Steward on a KdF-steamboat (the KdF, i.e. *Kraft durch Freude*, which literally means "Strength through Joy", was a large state-controlled leisure organization) and got to know his wife in Bremerhaven. When the Nazis confronted him with the alternatives of either becoming a member of the Nazi-Party or losing his job, he changed to the Hamburg-America-Line. Because the transatlantic traffic was shut down for some time during the war, he came back to Rolandseck, where his family was running a very successful petrol station called "The Friendly Man" ("*Zum freundlichen Herrn*"). In constant fear of death, Mrs. Kirchhoff spent the years of persecution on the run between Bremerhaven and Rolandseck. Supposedly she found refuge in Cologne, too. One of the local higher members of the Nazi party repeatedly warned them in the nick of time that Mrs. Kirchhoff was detected, but also there have been cases of denunciation. After the war Mrs. Kirchhoff and Mr. Murmann married in the Protestant church in Oberwinter. When they had grown old together, Robert Murmann nursed his wife with dedication. Both died very poor in 1984. One brother and a sister of Mrs. Kirchhoff perished in a Concentration Camp. Another sister owned a gas station in Düsseldorf after the war.[43]

Also in Rolandseck the elderly couple Salomon and Henriette Jacoby, with their daughter Hildegard Schott (her husband having been deported and murdered) found refuge for some time. An entire network of rescuers helped them, among them the couple Heinz and Josefine Odenthal from Bonn who brought the Jewish family to the Hotel "Anker" in Rolandseck, which was then the property of Mrs. Odenthal's parents. Sibylla Cronenberg, mother of Mrs. Odenthal, hid the refugees there, when it became too dangerous for them in Bonn. For rescuing these three persons, Heinz and Josefine Odenthal and Sibylla Cronenberg were honored posthumously in a Yad Vashem ceremony in the old town hall of Bonn by Mr. Ilan Mor, emissary of the embassy of Israel in Germany, on September 28th 2006.

After World War II, Maximilian Kirschberg with his wife and children lived in Oberwinter. His descendants are now living in many different countries of the world. He had married a Christian woman, and his children had received baptism and went to a Catholic school. On a Spanish web-site,[44] I found a little article with the title "España honora, por primera vez, a las victimas del holocausto" (Spain honors, for the first time, the victims of Holocaust). In this his daughter Alexandra reports that Mr. Kirschberg was deported to Auschwitz at the age of 15 with his family and never saw any one of them. She supposes that he managed to survive due to his strength and intelligence, for he knew many languages, which probably saved his life. In 1945 he was freed by the Allies and for the decades to follow he used to be tormented by nocturnal nightmares. His daughter also

reported that he was working hard and saving money excessively throughout all his life, because he did not want that all of his six children to stay in one place, as he was always afraid that some day something similar might happen again.

A few other Jewish people (most of them married to a Christian partner) have lived in Oberwinter or Rolandseck since then, but none of them ever spoke about being Jewish.

Meanwhile most of the German Jewish survivors of the NS regime have passed away and the number of those who could still bear witness to the terrors of theses times both for the sake of keeping alive the memory of the victims and as a warning to the younger generation ever. For this very reason I am myself working on a publication about the Jewish men and women of Oberwinter, so that the victims may not be forgotten and no other such reign as the ominous "Third Reich" will ever be established on German soil.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Gedenkbuch an den Deutsch-Französischen Krieg von 1870-71 für die deutschen Israeliten. Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums,1871, 136 pages

This Memorial Book to the German Jews in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870—71, rare as it is today, is a valuable source of information for any genealogist with roots in the Prussian realm of the late 19th century. The names of 2,518 German-Jewish soldiers from 227 Jewish communities appear in its pages. No less, from an historical point of view does the subject of German-Jewish participation in the ten-months-Franco-Prussian War between the two 19th century European powers—the conflict that saw thousands of German-Jewish recruits and volunteers fighting against the armies of Louis Napoléon III Bonaparte—deserve to be revisited and explored as it has remained one of the lesser researched subjects of German-Jewish history.

Friedrich II, the enlightened despot of the 18th century, was memorialized affectionately for generations of Germans as Der Alte Fritz. He would not have been amused by the fact that the Wars of Liberation of 1813—15 had already drawn—from among numerous Jewish volunteers who regarded themselves as Prussian citizens—three descendants of Moses Mendelssohn, the wise man he had ignored all his life.

On 19 July 1870, war was declared by France, five days after the infamous Ems Telegram (that spoke of a confidential conversation about a possible Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen succession to the vacant Spanish throne—allegedly edited by Bismarck) was leaked to the press. For Bismarck the ensuing hostilities became events shrewdly designed to humiliate the French—and to rapidly establish Prussian military superiority in Europe. The Iron Chancellor, believing in an aggressive policy to challenge the supremacy of France as the political and economic power on the continent, had succeeded, unbeknownst to France, in swaying the southern German states into a coalition by way of secret treaties. Swiftly won victories at Metz were followed by six weeks of fighting and the capture of the French Emperor ahead of 100,000 French soldiers at Sedan on 1 September, the defining battle. Across Europe the situation soon evoked general admiration for Prussia, and not only in military circles. In Paris it led swiftly to the bloodless revolution, the demise of their Second Empire and the proclamation of France's Third Republic. (Seventy years after Sedan, that Third Republic collapsed as a result of Hitler's invasion of France)

During the euphoria of battles won toward the end of 1870, Rabbi Dr. Ludwig Philippson, committed Reformer and the publisher of the weekly Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums (AZJ) , set out on a unique survey. The purpose was to dispel the old canard that had lived on in the German psyche, of Jewish cowardice in the military and the persistent depictions of Jews who shirked military duty. Dr. Philippson felt an urgency to present, for posterity, in book form, "the truth about German Jewry's valor and love for their country."

The combined data collected in the survey eventually became part of a slim 240 page volume. The book was being sent to subscribers of the AZJ or could be purchased for 15 Silber Groschen from the publisher in Bonn. In the first 136 pages Dr. Philippson laid out the chronology of the war of 1870/71, followed by an illumination of the causes. On pages III–CVI, including an appendix, one finds the names of 463 towns, followed by each town's recruits, sorted by family name and first name, rank and frequently by the locality where stationed.

Dr. Philippson personally approached Jewish communities, small and large, in all the German states, to report to him on the numbers of Jewish war volunteers, the numbers of members from each kehillah who were called up for the war, and the number of souls of each community. Of equal importance was to learn how many Jews were promoted and how many were decorated; he wanted to publicize the names of regiments in which Jews were serving and, respectively, who and how many soldiers had been wounded and who had died in the field. For the first time the government of the day, as well as German Jewry as a whole, were to be acquainted with 'revealing, tabulated statistics.'

When, as the war progressed, Dr. Philippson's initial

call to the kehilloth had not found the anticipated resonance, he used the pages of the AZJ to make repeated attempts for the ingathering of data by urging rabbis, elders and teachers of the communities to join him in this quasi census. He followed up with personal letters, circulars and reminders but, for some period after the end of the war, he nevertheless lamented the fact that the results were far from complete, that only an estimate of the real numbers of Jewish recruits and volunteers had been achieved.

The large kehilloth of Breslau, Frankfurt/Main and Posen, he regretted, were conspicuous by their absence in the survey. The head of the Ashkenazi community of Hamburg that comprised of 10,000 members declared his inability to comply with accuracy to Dr. Philippson's request, claiming that his community was too large, and that many of members were in town only temporarily, adding however, that at least one hundred men had been recruited. The venerable independent Portuguese-Sephardi kehillah of Hamburg, 260 souls in all, submitted a separate list of only four members, all volunteers. Rabbis in smaller towns frequently appeared reticent or saw no point in the exercise. The size of each kehillah was not always reported either, thus only participation of kehilloth within cities of a total population of more than 20,000 inhabitants could be judged with certainty, given the most recent government census. While one kehillah of 500 souls listed only two recruits, the huge community of Berlin reported a mere three recruits, and Gleiwitz gave the names of thirty-six soldiers but omitted ranks, regiments and localities. Hessen appeared as one region that had supplied the most data.

In the analysis it appeared that frequently all Jewish soldiers from a town were grouped together to serve in the same regiment. One soldier was listed as prisoner-of-war in Bretagne, while one volunteer had returned from the USA, his land of earlier immigration, to clear his conscience and serve his country of birth in its hour of need; alas, he later became a victim of widespread disease that had spread during the war. The list of volunteers that appear in the book consists largely of Einjährig Freiwillige, seventy-one names in total. (The term, meaning literally "one-year-volunteers," was known in Prussia since 1813 and conferred certain privileges upon a soldier, such as a reduction of conscription time, i.e. one year service instead of the compulsory two or three years.)

Dr. Philippson nevertheless assured the readers of the AZJ that the replies from kehilloth that did comply fully could be regarded as accurate and complete—quoting specifically the little-known town of Spenge near Bielefeld that had reported with absolute accuracy that twenty percent of its Jewish population—two recruits—had been called up. As the war progressed frequent soldiers' death notices were published in the AZJ.

At war's end a number of more pertinent facts had emerged. Sixty-four soldiers were listed as wounded and fifty-one as having died, including several who had succumbed to diseases that had decimated the ranks of both warring countries, with France taking the heaviest toll. The presence of numerous volunteers from Holland, England and the USA was reported as well, although few were mentioned by name. In a separate chapter the reader is informed that the E.K., the Iron Cross, had been awarded to eighty-three Jewish soldiers for bravery and outstanding service; (one such medal was presented to a Jewish soldier for recapturing the regiment's flag.) One reads inter alia of the five recruited soldiers who represented the entire Jewish consignment from Königsberg, all of whom were rewarded with this prized decoration. The general phenomenon that nearly half of all recipients of the E.K. were medical doctors is clarified by the fact that, notoriously, very few Jewish soldiers were able to advance to rank of commissioned officers, while preference was given to medical doctors to achieve that status. (A later calculation brings the total Jewish recruits to more than 9,000, of whom 483 were injured or reported dead; 373 soldiers were said to have received the E.K. or other medals. Numerous Jews were later listed in the Deutsches Heldenbuch in which outstanding acts of bravery of German officers and soldiers were memorialized.) Even the notorious Heinrich von Treitschke, in referring to the growing Jewish bourgeoisie, admitted in Vol. II of his History of Germany in the 19th century "...the sons of those intellectual houses who already felt as Germans, did their duty honorably."

The Franco-Prussian war culminated, ten days before the armistice of 28 January 1871, in the crowning in Versailles of Wilhelm I as Emperor of a new nation state, the Second German Reich. The event gave rise

to Prussia's ultimate military and economic might, in time the root causes of the two World Wars that were to convulse Europe.

The final statistics of Jewish participation in the war of 1870-71, so it was hoped in a leading article of the AZJ, should also serve well to influence the government favorably toward Jewish military chaplaincy, spiritual assistance in the field. Dr. Philippson personally commented on Prussia's enduring intransigence regarding these matters—Austria, Britain and France had instituted such service to their soldiers of all denominations some time ago. The Prussian government's initial stance since 1866, with its peculiar inclination to ignore the country's Jewish population, was to retort to the old saw that "Jewish religious leaders in the field would be an unnecessary luxury due to the Jews' thin participation in the military compared to overall enlistment."

Despite that line of reasoning, however, at the time of Strasbourg's capitulation on 27 September, German-Jewish soldiers were given the hitherto unheard-of liberties to observe Rosh Hashanah in the field. Their weaponry laid aside—in a roped-off field with a slight elevation, a plain almemor was built of stones (as it was written "Thou shall place the Torah in the middle of the children of Israel"), a field lantern served as the Ner Tamid, the eternal light—the 'soldiers of the Israelite religion' prayed in unison, clad in their tallith. On the eve of Yom Kippur, 5 October 1870, outside the encircled city of Metz, the voices of 1,200 men were heard as one, intoning the Kol Nidrei prayers under a clear sky. In days thereafter Sukkoth was observed with equal sincerity. Early in the following year before the hostilities ended, Pesach was sanctioned to be celebrated near the battlefields. In war poetry, one G. Philippsohn extolled the virtues and duties of Jewish soldiers under the banner "Are we not children of one God? Were we not created all by one God?"

Indeed, as the AZJ reported with satisfaction within a week, aspirations for spiritual assistance in the field were fulfilled. The king's Allerhöchste Cabinetsordre of 15 November 1870 had confirmed the posting of the first two rabbis as military chaplains. Two lecturers of the Jüdisch Theologisches Seminar of Breslau, Rabbi Isaak Blumenstein of Luxemburg and Rabbi Dr. Adolph Lewin (Freiburg) had applied, in addition to Rabbi Dr. Jakob Gutmann and Rabbi Dr. Benjamin Rippner of Glogau who later volunteered their services. It was a milestone decision, no less. (In 1914, when German Jews went to war again, with even more heightened enthusiasm "Mit Gott für Kaiser, König und Vaterland," Rabbi Dr. Leo Baeck was one of thirty Feld Rabbiner who officiated as army chaplains; his advice to Jewish soldiers was to emulate Hindenburg, "to be simple, direct and unassuming" and "follow the general's example of honour, loyalty and fulfillment of duty.")

In November of 1870 the first of numerous pleas for funds to alleviate the suffering of the French Jews of Strasbourg and Metz appeared in the pages of the AZJ, followed by regular acknowledgements of contributions as well as the names of their donors. Here, interestingly, Dr. Philippson totally identified with Germany's right to posses the newly annexed lands of Elsass and Lothringen, areas that represented nearly two thirds of French Jewry at the eve of the 1789 French revolution; they adhered to traditional pattern of Jewish life well into the 19th century. He underscored the imagined affinity of the two countries' Jewish brethren to each other by his belief that "German Jews always had a common bond with their French counterpart," to which he felt secure to add "...just look at their rite, it is Ashkenazi, it is not Sephardi!"

Were it not for Dr. Philippson's timely efforts, a good part of this particular episode of the attempted German-Jewish symbiosis may have been consigned to the bins of history, and any latter day researcher would have been the poorer. Dr. Philippson concluded his editorial with a sincere longing for peace in Europe, expressing the optimistic wish that the spirit of equality be strengthened in the new Imperial Reich, that all past prejudice toward Jews in Germany be jettisoned forever.

There—briefly at least—the light of Mendelssohn's Haskalah appeared to be shining brightly.

In a flowery confession by the editor, the book concludes, "Religion and fatherland, both indestructibly rooted in the soul—may they unite in our hearts."

Two generations later patriotic enthusiasm of Jewish war volunteers was at its height once more. "We German Jews will demonstrate and prove to be good, trustworthy sons of our fatherland," Rabbi Ludwig Geiger predicted, and Rabbi Leo Baeck, in his Shabbat sermon of 14

August 1914 at Berlin's Fasanenstrasse synagogue, filled to capacity, reiterated how deeply connected the life of the fatherland is to the Jews.

"It is not a war about land and value, but rather a war that will decide about the culture and civilization of Europe, the fate of which has been placed in the hands of Germany and those who are allied with us. We may pray to God and trust in him. This ethical conscience will strengthen Germany and lead to victory. The right will triumph."

But by 1916—forgotten already was the Kaiser's proclamation on the eve of the war that all Germans were equal, irrespective of faith or origin—elements in the government of the day saw the need for an official Jewish census in the German military. The resulting Judenzählung was disguised as a confessional statistic; typically, it was never published. All too many of those who had rushed to the flag in 1914, only too often maimed for life, would flaunt their war medals and Iron Crosses earned for bravery—on their way to Hitler's death camps.

The exiled Kaiser, in one of his last tactless tirades before his death in Holland in 1941, was still ranting against 'the international Jewish conspiracy.'

—Peter Simonstein Cullman

NOTES

1. Published by *Selbstverlag Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*, 236 pp. Bonn: 1871. (A partial photocopy of which is deposited at Leo Baeck Institute, New York)
2. They were Moses' son Nathan, who had himself baptized as a Protestant and served with the Lützow Jäger, receiving the Iron Cross; the other two were Mendelssohn's grandsons Philipp Veit, the son of Dorothea Schlegel, and Benjamin Mendelssohn, the son of Moses' son Joseph; Benjamin later converted and became a Protestant in 1816.
3. The German Jewish press began with Rabbi Ludwig Philippson's weekly "Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums", a non-partisan newspaper in which everything from synagogue, school, home and the community was touched upon, first published in 1837. Its broad interest in all Jewish matters gave the paper a special place in the German-Jewish sphere of interest. In 1922 the newspaper became the C.-V. Zeitung, organ of the Central-Verein der deutschen Juden. (Rabbi Ludwig Philippson, born 1811 in Dessau – died 1889 in Bonn; rabbi in Magdeburg 1832–57)
4. Cf. Index of all known Jewish participants.
5. AZJ, Jahrgang 34, Heft 52 (27 December 1870), p.1016.
6. Typically this was a youngster from a "good family" whose family could pay for his lodgings and uniform and serve as Einjährig Freiwilliger. He had obtained his high school diploma or had at least reached two thirds of a high school education, the Einjährige. He was allowed to serve only one year of his compulsory military service on active duty in order to delay his university education. After conclusion of officer courses and further military maneuvers the volunteer could be promoted to officer of the reserve, choose his military branch as well as the date of his service and was treated almost as an officer. The concept of Einjährig Freiwilliger was later adopted by many European states.
7. Cf. Ein Stück von uns: *Deutsche Juden in deutschen Armeen*; Mainz: v. Hase & Kohler Verlag, 1977; p. 35.
8. Otherwise well-known for his virulent diatribe of 1879 "Die Juden sind unser Unglück" ("The Jews are our misfortune") that coined the modern term anti-Semitism.
9. AZJ, Jahrgang 34, Heft 45, (8 November 1870), pp.873–74.
10. AZJ, Jahrgang 34, Heft 46, (15 November 1870), p.893
11. AZJ, Jahrgang 34, Heft 45, (8 November 1870), p.874.
12. Here one is reminded that it was the leader of Elsass' Jewry, Herz Cerf Beer, who precipitated Christian Wilhelm Dohm's historic writings "Über die bürgerliche Verbesserung der Juden," supported by Moses Mendelssohn in 1781.
13. AZJ, Jahrgang 25, Heft 35, (20 June 187), pp. 495–96.
14. AZJ, Jahrgang 78, Heft 34, (21 August 1914), p.398.
15. AZJ, Jahrgang 78, Heft 33, (14 August 1914), front page.

B*ibliographie zur deutsch-jüdischen Familienforschung und zur neueren Regional- und Lokalgeschichte der Juden* (Bibliography on German-Jewish family research and on recent regional and local history of the Jews) by Angelika G. Ellmann-Krüger and Dietrich Ellmann, (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2006), ISBN 978-3-447-05447-8. €49.80, (approximately $65). Available through *Avotaynu* for $65 plus shipping/handling.

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Without exaggeration, it is fair to say that this is the ultimate source for published German-Jewish genealogical research. With admirable thoroughness and precision, Angelika G. Ellmann-Krüger has researched every important publication of genealogical interest as well as many obscure ones on the Jews of Germany written in German and in English, making all easily available in this remarkable database. This CD is unique in that it contains the only comprehensive bibliography covering German-Jewish family research and regional and local history in Germany within its historical borders from

early modern times until the end of the Nazi era. It is based upon both authors' practical experience as retired librarians, doing family research in archives and libraries.

The sources include not only books, but also articles from old and current journals, newspapers and collective works taken from more than 32,000 published sources, mostly in English or in German. Unlike most other bibliographies, this one almost always includes one or more locations that hold the book or periodical, including the address of a library. Sometimes listed are the U.S. Library of Congress, the library of the Leo Baeck Institute in New York or that of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. The CD also provides links to websites useful for Jewish family research, such as JewishGen and the libraries just listed above.

The information technology techniques offered are particularly easy to use. On the opening page, the reader may choose to search in German or in English, although the result will display in the language of the publication. Use of the browser requires any special skills or extensive experience. All help texts are integrated within the user interface. .

Researchers may conduct an index search in seven different ways:

1. Individuals and families. This selection provides access to approximately 50,000 individuals and families. A search of one version of a name will return other versions, so that a search for "Abrahamson, Abraham" will also return "Abramson, Abraham." A married woman may be searched by her maiden name as well as by her husband's name ("Aaron, Mina, nee Lippmann" and "Lippmann, Mina"). Double names can be searched by each component ("Loew-Leo, Fritz" and "Leo, Fritz").

2. Countries and towns. These names may be searched by the older German name and by the current Polish, Czech, Slovak, Russian or Hungarian name, and also, frequently, under the English name. Thus, Hohensalza may be searched as Hohensalza (Provinz Posen) or as Inowroclaw; Osterode (Ostpreußen) can also be searched by Ostroda,; and Nürnberg can be searched as Nürnberg, or as Nuremberg. Different places with the same name (for example, Naumburg) have a supplement, such as Naumburg (Hessen) and Naumburg an der Saale. A place that in the past was independent and now is part of a town can be searched under its original name, such as Jebenhausen, although it is now part of Göppingen.

3. Subject headings. This selection includes more than 1,700 keywords, covering multiple aspects of history, legal status, Jewish life, professions, occupations of the Jews and other categories.

4. Corporations

5. Classification codes

6. Words from titles

7. Authors, editors

For all seven indexes the researcher can start with the beginning of the keyword or with any desired character string, a great convenience if one does not know the exact spelling of the term to be searched (such as if one only knows that a person lived in a place ending with "leben"). Choosing the option "includes the entered character string" in the index of countries and towns yields 15 places with the suffix "leben."

An exhaustive list of variations on a place name is possible when parts of the names are used for a search. Some limited knowledge of German orthography is necessary, however, when choosing the partial names to enter. Researchers must either use umlauts or the two-vowel equivalents in some cases. For example, one must search for "göppingen" or "goeppingen" but not "goppingen." Using the initial vowel (here o) will not yield the name. However, if one enters "ppingen," after choosing the option "includes the entered string," the program will return "eppingen," "goeppingen," "richen (baden), now part of eppingen," and "schoeppingen." The engine is case insensitive so capitalization is unnecessary. The Göppingen example is important because it shows the agility of the search engine in handling letters in German or in English for the same search, while at the same time retrieving all possibilities using an incomplete name. When searching under "Individuals and Families," the same concepts apply to personal names.

The authors have a good command of English, and they have generally conformed to both German and American library conventions in the information offered and its mode of presentation. The database yields up a treasure trove of names and locations, often with both an American and a German library call number. There is even a list of family names changed subsequent to the initial family name adoption. That list includes some names adopted upon immigration to English-speaking countries. Many entries link to short biographical sketches about the person mentioned. Nearly half of the bibliographical descriptions have additional notes, giving information either about the content of the publication or about the individuals or families (parents, spouses, children or data on birth, death, etc.). Although these short notes are only in German, most researchers will be able to understand the general tenor even without knowledge of that language.

Sources of the information include:

• Publications related to persons

Regional and local historical contributions on Jews in Germany and in areas that were part of Germany until 1945, plus Jews in other German-speaking countries, such as Austria, Switzerland and Alsace

• Publications on emigration and the life of Jews in the countries to which they migrated

• Entries concerning the legal status of Jews; their importance in economy, politics, science, art and culture; their living conditions; and their daily life

• Topographical and geographical dictionaries

The indexes, as well as the detailed classification, offer fast access to bibliographical information. The researcher may choose an index search, basic search (one search term per query) or advanced search (a combination of two or three search terms per query). Annotations of 11,000 publications provide additional details on persons: dates of birth, marriage, and death; parents; and other categories. They also give more information about the content of a given source.

Although the primary focus of the database is genealogical, the work is also useful for historians, librarians, bibliographers and others. The ultimate picture that the database produces is the history of how the Jews contributed to the German economy, academic development social development, and culture until Nazis times.

Because searches can be done by theme, a researcher may examine general trends by using the various search options and is not restricted just to a search for individuals. Most genealogists will want individuals, but a basic understanding of the situation in which those individuals lived, not just a simple family history, will enrich the experience and lead to new avenues of search for other relatives. Frequently, the source materials identified will enable further research into relatives, neighbors and the like. Those who read German can use an introduction to special options, sources and literature on Jewish family research (accessible in the German version of the bibliography).

AVOTAYNU readers already are familiar with Ellman-Krueger's book, Library Resources for German-Jewish Genealogy (*Avotaynu*, 1998). This CD, nearly 20 years in preparation, is their magnum opus.

—Edward Luft

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A Word About the Leo Baeck Institute

Since its founding in 1955, the Leo Baeck Institute has become the premiere research library and archive devoted exclusively to documenting the history of German speaking Jewry.

In the aftermath of World War Two, with the annihilation of European Jewry almost complete, some of the leading intellectuals who were forced out of Germany and Austria were determined to preserve the shattered remains of their devastated heritage. They sought to collect as much material as they could to provide future generations with authentic evidence of this rich and varied past. The founders included Martin Buber, Max Gruenwald, Hannah Arendt and Robert Weltsch. They made Rabbi Leo Baeck, the last leader of the Jewish community in Germany under the Nazis, its first president and named the Institute in his honor, to signify the ideals of modern, cultured, assimilated German-Jewry.

LBI offices were created in each of the great outposts of the exiled community; London, Jerusalem, and New York, with New York as the headquarters, home of the Institute's unparalleled library and archival collections. In September 2001, LBI New York opened a branch of its archives at the new Jewish Museum in Berlin. This marks the first time that this extraordinary array of materials is available in Europe. It is both symbolically and in fact a very significant development in the continuity of this legacy shared by Germans and Jews.

The remarkable holdings of the Institute reflect a heritage of triumphs and tragedies that must never be forgotten.

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